PROCEEDINGS

—OF THE—

FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE

HISTORY OF THE TOWN

READ BY SOME OF THE MEMBERS.

VOLUME II.

FITCHBURG, MASS.:
PUBLISHED BY THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
1897.

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SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY,
FITCHBURG.

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OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY,

1897.

President,

HENRY A. WILLIS.

Vice Presidents,

HENRY A. GOODRICH, FREDERICK F. WOODWARD.

Secretary,

JAMES F. D. GARFIELD.

Treasurer and Librarian.

ATHERTON P. MASON.

Committee on Nominations,

CHARLES E. WARE, 3 years. CHARLES FOSDICK, 2 years.

EBENEZER BAILEY, 1 year.

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BY-LAWS

—OF THE—

FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This society shall be called the FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

Its objects shall be the prosecution of historical and antiquarian research, the collection and preservation of books, pamphlets, papers and relics, illustrating history or progress,—especially such as relates to Fitchburg and the neighboring towns,—the publication from time to time of the results of such research, and the holding of such real estate as may be desirable for the purposes of the society.

ARTICLE III.—OFFICERS.

1. The officers of the corporation shall consist of an Executive Committee of five members, a Treasurer, a Clerk and a Librarian, all of whom shall be elected by ballot, and hold office for the term of one year, and until their successors are chosen. The Treasurer, Clerk and Librarian, or any one or more of them, may be elected from the members of the Executive Committee if desired.

2. A President of the Executive Committee, who shall also be the President of the Corporation, shall be elected by the Executive Committee from among its own number, as soon as convenient after its election. Not exceeding two Vice-Presidents may also be elected by said Executive Committee from its own members. All vacancies in any office shall be filled by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE IV.—DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the meetings of the society. In his absence it shall be the duty of the First Vice-

President, or, in his absence, of the Second Vice-President, to preside; and in the absence of all three a president *pro tem.* shall be chosen.

2. The Clerk shall be the Secretary of the society and shall perform the usual duties of that office. He shall keep a record of all meetings of the society in a book for that purpose; issue all notices of such meetings; notify persons of their election as members; notify any members of their election to office who may not be present at the time of their election; conduct the general correspondence of the society; and shall at the expiration of his term of office turn over to his successor all books and papers belonging to the society.

3. The Treasurer shall be the sole custodian of all funds of the society, and of all property or titles to property, real or personal, belonging to the society, except such as is otherwise provided for. He shall assess and collect all dues and taxes voted by the society, receive any legacies bequeathed, or donations made to its funds; shall disburse the moneys so received and collected on a written order signed by the President and Secretary, but not otherwise. He shall keep in a book provided for the purpose a true account of all receipts and disbursements; shall submit the same to the inspection of any member when requested; shall submit in writing a report of all his receipts and disbursements for the year, and exhibit his vouchers for the same at the annual meeting; shall furnish a bond for the faithful discharge of his duties whenever the society by a vote may so direct; and shall at the expiration of his term of office deliver into the hands of his successor all money and all books, papers and other property belonging to the society.

4. The Librarian shall be the sole custodian of books, pamphlets, coins, medals, relics, portraits, maps, engravings and other collections belonging to the society, except its books of account; shall catalogue the same in a book kept for the purpose; shall have the care of the entire collection, and shall report at the annual meeting the condition of the same, and any additions made during the year.

ARTICLE V.—Committees.

1. The Executive Committee shall have the general management of the property and concerns of the society; shall aid by personal influence or by solicitation in securing additions to its funds or its collections; shall prepare for the press any publications of the society; see that the votes of the society are carried out, and that the provisions of these By-Laws are properly maintained; shall appoint any officer or agent in its opinion necessary and not herein otherwise provided for, prescribe their duties and remove the same at pleasure.

2. The corporation shall elect by ballot three persons—one to serve for one year, one for two years and one for three years; and at each succeeding annual meeting one to serve for three years—who shall be called the Standing Committee on Nominations. It shall be the duty of this committee to examine the qualifications of persons proposed for membership, and to put in nomination such as they may think will promote the interests of the society.

3. Other committees may be chosen as occasion may require, but *all* committees shall report their doings in writing.

ARTICLE VI.—Members.

1. The name of any person having an interest in the objects of this society may be proposed for membership at any meeting thereof, and referred to the Standing Committee on Nominations; and such person may, at the next regular meeting, on nomination by said committee, be elected by a two-thirds vote. But no person shall be entitled to membership unless he shall have signed the By-Laws and paid into the treasury, within six months from the time of his election, the sum of two dollars as an admission fee; provided, however, that any member of the association heretofore known as the Fitchburg Historical Society, who is a life member or who has paid his admission fee in said society, may, if elected, become a member in this corporation without the payment of the admission fee provided for herein.

2. Any person elected to active membership may become a life member by the payment at any one time of twenty-five dollars, and thereafter shall be exempt from all assessments.

ARTICLE VII.—Honorary and Corresponding Members.

1. Honorary and corresponding members may be proposed and elected in the same manner as prescribed for active members, except that they shall not be required to pay an admission fee, or dues, or assessments; but corresponding members shall not be residents of the city of Fitchburg.

2. Neither honorary nor corresponding members shall be entitled to vote, nor shall they have any interest in or title to the property of the society.

3. It will be expected of honorary and corresponding members that they will endeavor to add to the society's collections, and to contribute by correspondence or otherwise, as they may be able, to add to the interest of the society's proceedings.

ARTICLE VIII.—MEETINGS.

1. The annual meeting for the election of officers and the transaction of other business shall be held on the third Monday in January of each year, at which time the several annual reports from officers and committees shall be submitted to the society. The newly elected officers shall not, however, assume their official duties until the third Monday in the month of February following.

2. If the annual election is not held at the time herein fixed, a meeting for that purpose may be called, at any time before the time for the next annual meeting, by the President; or, in his absence, inability or refusal, by any of the officers heretofore named, and shall be so called by such officer on the request of five members.

3. The other regular meetings shall be held on the third Monday of each month, excepting July and August.* Special meetings may be called by the President, or upon the written request of any three members of the society. The Clerk shall give three days' notice by mail, in writing, of all special meetings.

4. Five members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE IX.—ASSESSMENTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

1. The society may, at any regular meeting, by vote, assess a tax upon its active members, not exceeding one dollar *per capita;* but at any annual meeting the society may assess such sum as may be needed for carrying on the affairs of the society, provided that the aggregate amount of assessments within any twelve consecutive months shall not exceed twelve dollars.

2. All claims against the society shall be approved by the member contracting the same, and the Treasurer shall pay the same only on a written order signed by the President and Secretary.

ARTICLE X.—FAILURES, WITHDRAWALS AND EXPULSIONS.

1. Any member who shall for one whole year fail to pay any assessment made in accordance with the provisions of these By-Laws, and shall give no satisfactory reason therefor, shall cease to be a member of the society; and the Treasurer shall notify the Secretary, who shall make record of the fact.

2. Any member may withdraw from the society by giving notice of his intention to the Secretary, and paying all assessments due at the

*Amended May 17, 1897, to read—"excepting June, July, August and September."

time of giving such notice; and the Secretary shall make record of the fact.

3. Any member may for breach of trust, malfeasance in office, or other cause, be expelled from the society by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any regular meeting; *provided* that the number present shall not be less than a majority of the whole number of active members, and *provided*, also, that such member shall have had an opportunity to be heard in his own defence at some regular meeting.

ARTICLE XI.—Amendments.

Alterations or amendments to these By-Laws may be made at any regular meeting by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting; provided that notice of the proposed change shall have been given at some previous meeting.

AMENDMENT ADOPTED.

May 17, 1897, Article VIII, Section 3 was amended so as to read "Regular meetings shall be held on the third Monday of each month excepting June, July, August and September."

[CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION.]

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BE IT KNOWN That whereas, Henry A. Willis, Atherton P. Mason, James F. D. Garfield, Henry A. Goodrich, Frederick F. Woodward, John W. Kimball, Ebenezer Bailey, Frederick A. Currier, Rodney Wallace, Henry O. Putnam, Charles Henry Putnam, John H. Daniels and others have associated themselves with the intention of forming a corporation under the name of the

FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

for the purpose of prosecuting historical and antiquarian research, the collection and preservation of books, papers and relics, illustrating the history of Fitchburg and the neighboring towns; the publication from time to time of the results of such research; and the holding of such real estate as may be desirable for the purposes of the Society, and have complied with the provisions of the statutes of this Commonwealth in such case made and provided, as appears from the certificate of the President, Treasurer, Clerk and Executive Committee having powers of Directors of said corporation, duly approved by the Commissioner of Corporations, and recorded in this office:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, William M. Olin, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Do Hereby Certify that said Henry A. Willis, Atherton P. Mason, James F. D. Garfield, Henry A. Goodrich, Frederick F. Woodward, John W. Kimball, Ebenezer Bailey, Frederick A. Currier, Rodney Wallace, Henry O. Putnam, Charles Henry Putnam, John H. Daniels and others, their associates and successors, are legally organized and established as, and are hereby made, an existing corporation, under the name of the FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY, with the powers, rights and privileges, and subject to the limitations, duties and restrictions which by law appertain thereto.

Witness my official signature hereunto subscribed, and the seal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts hereunto affixed, this third day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-six.

[SEAL]

[Signed] WM. M. OLIN,

Secretary of the Commonwealth.

PROCEEDINGS.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1894.—The regular monthly meeting of the society, the first after the summer vacation, was held at the common council room. In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, Mr. F. A. Currier was chosen President, *pro tem.*

The secretary read a paper giving an account of the famous meeting-house controversy in Fitchburg during the latter part of the last century—reviewing the long and bitter contest over the location of the new meeting house—and the efforts simultaneously made to establish a new town from portions of Fitchburg, Westminster, Ashburnham and Ashby.

Dr. A. P. Mason announced the death of Ex-Governor Charles Robinson of Kansas, a corresponding member of this society—referred to his former residence in Fitchburg, and read extracts from a sketch of his life and character. His death occurred at his home in Lawrence, Kansas, August 17, 1894.

OCTOBER 15, 1894.—Regular monthly meeting at the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Mr. Samuel S. Crocker of Leominster, Mrs. Sarah A. Torrey, Mrs. Mary A. R. Lowe, Mrs. Helen A. Wallace, John G. Faxon and Edgar S. Moulton of Fitchburg, were elected to active membership.

Mr. Charles Fosdick read a brief sketch of Captain Thomas Cowdin, a prominent citizen of Fitchburg during the first half century of its corporate existence, and exhibited the original plan of a lot of land given by Capt. Cowdin to the town of Fitchburg in 1765, for a meeting-house lot. The plan contains a description of the bounds of the lot, and has endorsed on the back the words: "A Plan of Land for Fitchburg Temple to stand upon." The lot was located near the present corner of Mt. Vernon and Crescent streets, and contained one acre and forty rods, according to a survey by Nathan Heywood, June 25, 1765. The document has been presented to the society by Miss Adelaide Z. McIntire, a lineal descendant of Capt. Cowdin. The deed of the land from Capt. Cowdin to the town was read by the secretary, as was also the record of three generations of the Cowdin family in Fitchburg.

NOVEMBER 19, 1894.—The regular monthly meeting was held in the aldermen's room, President Willis in the chair. Rev. Henry S. Burrage of Portland, Maine, was elected a corresponding member.

Mr. Frederick A. Currier read a paper entitled "Tavern Days and the Old Taverns of Fitchburg," in which he put into readable form many interesting facts and incidents in the early history of the town.

After the reading, allusion was made by Mrs. C. L. Raymond and others to the colored servants in the families of landlords Cowdin and Jacob Upton. Capt. Cowdin's colored man Nevis had served in the French and Indian war, as a private in Capt. Cowdin's company. After the close of the war he came with his master to Fitchburg and remained many years in his service. It was related of landlord Upton that on one of his visits to Boston he had started on his way home, and in crossing Charlestown bridge he met a colored woman with two babies. She

wished to dispose of them where they would find a home. The landlord purchased them, took them aboard his team and brought them to his Fitchburg home, later known as the Dean hill tavern. He named one of them Boston, and the other Charlestown. Both remained with him until they were about fifteen years of age, when one of them left for parts unknown. The other remained in the family till he was married, and was given a "grand wedding."

DECEMBER 17, 1894.—Regular monthly meeting of the society in the aldermen's room. Hon. Amasa Norcross, as President *pro tem.*, occupied the chair. Henry F. Rockwell and J. Edward Thompson were elected members of the society. A letter was read from Rev. Henry S. Burrage of Portland, Maine, accepting corresponding membership.

Dr. Atherton P. Mason read some interesting papers, copies of official records, letters, and extracts from early newspapers, relating to the attack on the John Fitch garrison and the captivity of the Fitch family. The papers were collected and presented to the society by Hon. Ezra S. Stearns, for publication with his address delivered at the dedication of the Fitch memorial tablet.

On motion, a committee was appointed consisting of President Willis, Gen. John W. Kimball and James F. D. Garfield, to consider the subject of procuring the incorporation of the society.

In response to questions interesting reminiscences were given by Alonzo P. Goodridge, Samuel S. Crocker and others in relation to the settlement and growth of West Fitchburg. Mr. Goodridge referred to the time when Alvah Crocker purchased land and water power there for the purpose of building a paper-mill. It was before there was any road built up the river, and the mill site was reached by a circuitous route over the hills. Mr. Crocker referred to the building of his brother's mill, and stated that some

years later he built a mill himself, a mile or so higher up the stream, and went to making paper. After a while both his brother's mill and his own were burned. There was no doubt both fires were of incendiary origin, incited by the prejudice then existing against his brother Alvah, on account of the part he was taking in relation to the building of the Fitchburg railroad—some people fearing that a railroad would be ruinous to teaming and various other kinds of business, as well as detrimental to the interests of the town generally.

Mrs. S. S. Crocker remarked that after the burning of her husband's mill some sympathizing friend inquiring about his loss asked him "if everything was burned." "Yes, everything," was the reply, "except the mortgage on the mill." Good credit enabled him to rebuild and go on with the business.

The road following the river to West Fitchburg was built about 1829; and the little settlement about Mr. Alvah Crocker's mill soon came to be known as Crockerville; and when Mr. S. S. Crocker built his mill, which was about 1839, the region thereabout was called "Sam Crockerville." At first his nearest neighbor was a mile away. Being anxious to have a school for the benefit of his children, Mr. Crocker offered the town a lot of land on which to build a school house, and then went to town meeting and advocated so earnestly an appropriation for building the house that a prominent citizen made the remark that he had at last found out Mr. Crocker's full name; it was "Samuel School-house Crocker." The school house was built. After removing from Fitchburg, Mr. Crocker went to Lawrence, where he built a mill and manufactured the first paper made in that city.

Dr. A. P. Mason appropriately referred to the death of Dr. George Jewett, a member of the society, which occurred at his home in this city on the 16th of Decem-

ber, 1894, and on motion it was voted that a memorial of Dr. Jewett be entered upon the records of the society.

JANUARY 21, 1895.—The annual meeting of the society was held at the aldermen's room, city hall building, President Willis in the chair. Dr. Clarence W. Spring and Henry B. Adams of Fitchburg, and Dr. Francis E. Nims of Leominster, were elected members of the society.

The secretary read his annual report, reviewing the work of the year, noting the steady growth of the society, and suggesting the propriety of taking some action to secure the better preservation of the municipal records of the city.

The treasurer submitted his annual report, showing a balance in the treasury, after paying expenses of the year, of $235.46.

The librarian presented his annual report, announcing the receipt of 31 bound volumes, 188 pamphlets, and a variety of other material, as additions to the society's collections during the year.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows:

President, ...	Henry A. Willis.
Vice-Presidents, ...	Henry A. Goodrich. Frederick F. Woodward.
Secretary, ...	James F. D. Garfield.
Treasurer and Librarian,	Atherton P. Mason.

Committee on Nominations: Three years, Ebenezer Bailey.

President Willis urged the importance of having our town and city records placed beyond the possibility of destruction or loss, and after some discussion a committee was chosen, consisting of Amasa Norcross, Arthur H. Lowe and James F. D. Garfield, to bring the subject to the attention of the city council.

FEBRUARY 18, 1895.—The regular monthly meeting of the society was held at the common council room. In the absence of the president and vice presidents, Hon. Arthur H. Lowe was called to the chair.

Dr. Jabez Fisher was elected a member of the society.

Mr. Frederick A. Currier read an interesting paper on "Stage Coaches and Public Conveyance," the paper showing careful research, and holding the close attention of his audience.

MARCH 18, 1895.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the common council room, President Willis in the chair. George Raymond was elected a member of the society.

The committee appointed in January to secure the better preservation of the town and city records reported that they had been granted a hearing before the committee on education of the city council, and as a result an order appropriating five hundred dollars towards copying and printing the records had passed both branches of the city council and received the approval of the mayor.

F. A. Currier read extracts from letters received by him from different persons with reference to his papers on "Post-offices, Post-roads," etc. The letters contained many interesting facts in relation to the subject.

Hon. Arthur H. Lowe gave a brief account of his recent southern trip, referring to some interesting records at the state house in Columbia, S. C., including the original ordinance of secession; early treaties with the Indians, and records dating back more than two hundred years.

APRIL 15, 1895.—Regular monthly meeting at the common council room, President Willis in the chair.

Dr. George D. Colony, James A. Austin and Nathan C. Upham of Fitchburg were elected active members, and

Mr. Ripley Hitchcock of New York city a corresponding member of the society.

Mr. Charles Fosdick read a paper reviewing the trial of the British soldiers for the murder of Crispus Attucks and the other victims of the Boston massacre, as given in a rare old volume printed in the early part of the present century. The paper also described the method of paper making and book making at that early period, in contrast with more modern methods.

J. F. D. Garfield also read a paper relating to Crispus Attucks and events connected with the Boston massacre. The paper stated that the real name of Attucks was Michael Johnson, as is shown by the return of the coroner's jury at the time of his death, which return is still preserved.

MAY 20, 1895.—Regular monthly meeting of the society at the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Mrs. Lucy B. Upton of Fitchburg was elected a member of the society.

Frederick A. Currier read a paper entitled "Turnpikes and Travel," giving a sketch of the rise and decline of turnpike building in northern Massachusetts, with special reference to the Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike, which passed through the south part of Fitchburg and was controlled by the turnpike company during the first third of the present century, after which it became a county road.

James F. D. Garfield read a paper entitled "Fitchburg in the Revolution," giving the record of service, so far as known, of each soldier who served on the quota of Fitchburg during the war.

JUNE 17, 1895.—The regular monthly meeting of the society was held at the common council room, Vice-President Goodrich in the chair. Charles K. Darling, Esq.,

of Boston was elected a corresponding member of the society.

Dr. A. P. Mason read a paper entitled "Education in Fitchburg Fifty Years Ago," giving an account of the controversy over the question of abolishing the district system, and reviewing the condition of educational affairs in the town previous to 1846. The paper was illustrated with a map of the town, showing the districts as then existing.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1895.—Regular monthly meeting at common council room, President Willis in the chair. Mrs. Sarah A. Putnam and Charles H. Putnam were elected to membership.

Mr. Henry A. Goodrich read an interesting and valuable paper entitled "The First Half Century of High Schools in Fitchburg." The reading was listened to by a large audience, including members of the society, and many friends of education as invited guests.

Col. Ivers Phillips of Boulder, Colorado, being called upon, gave interesting reminiscences relating to educational affairs during the many years of his connection with the schools of the town.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1895.—A special meeting of the society was held at the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Col. Ivers Phillips being introduced, gave an interesting sketch of his early life in Fitchburg, and of his connection with the military, educational and municipal affairs of the town for a period covering more than thirty years. Col. Phillips spoke for nearly two hours, and answered many questions proposed by different members. A full stenographic report of his remarks was taken and deposited in the archives of the society.

NOVEMBER 19, 1895.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the common council room, President Willis in the chair. The following named persons were elected to membership, viz.: Mr. and Mrs. Charles S. Chapin, Mr. and Mrs. George B. Woodward, Mrs. Arthur H. Lowe, Mr. J. Calvin Spaulding and Mr. George H. Jefts.

The paper of the evening was by Mrs. Louise H. Wellman, who gave an interesting sketch entitled "A Dame's School of Fifty Years Ago." The paper was descriptive of the private school kept in Fitchburg for some twenty years—1830 to 1850—by Miss Eunice Elizabeth Tainter. The account was very amusing, and especially interesting to some who were once pupils in the school.

The reading was followed by President Willis, who gave brief reminiscences of the same school, including some well-remembered personal experiences under the rigid discipline of the old-time school dame.

Henry A. Goodrich read a brief sketch of Col. Augustine J. H. Duganne, a former pupil of the Fitchburg Academy, and an apprentice in the Sentinel printing office in 1839–40. He also read a letter from R. B. Clarke, formerly for ten years principal of the Fitchburg high school, giving reminiscences of his connection with the school. The latter called out remarks by Dr. A. P. Mason and Judge Charles H. Blood, both of whom fitted for college under Mr. Clarke's tuition. Both speakers testified to his excellence as a teacher, as well as to his vigorous methods of discipline.

An anecdote connected with the old brick school house at the corner of Blossom and Crescent streets was related by the secretary, as told to him by one of the old boys of the school. In the days before stoves had come into general use the house had an immense open fireplace, suitable for the use of "four-foot" wood. On one occasion

the supply of fuel ran low, and the prudential committee was called upon to provide a new supply. After some grumbling at the amount of wood used, and just as the last few sticks were disappearing in smoke up the chimney, the committee man drove up his ox-team with a large load of wood and threw it off into the school yard. As he left he made the remark that when that load was gone the school would come to an end. The boys heard it, and before the committee man was out of sight with his ox-team the fire was being replenished; stick after stick was added, and armful after armful was piled on, until the big fireplace was filled to the utmost; and when no more could be crowded up the chimney, some of the boys climbed to the roof, and a line was formed from the wood-pile to the top of the house, and the wood passed up and dropped in at the top of the chimney. In two days' time the new supply had disappeared, and the words of the committee man proved true—the school came to an end.

DECEMBER 16, 1895.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the aldermen's room, Vice-President F. F. Woodward in the chair. Mr. Charles H. Greene was elected a member of the society.

The secretary read a statement relative to the circulation of the society's first printed volume, specifying the number sold, mentioning the different societies and individuals to whom it had been sent in exchange for similar publications, and stating that the volume had met with a generous reception outside of our own city and commonwealth, and had received the commendation of the press and of individuals well qualified to judge of its merits.

Mr. Norcross called attention to the fact that the society has already accumulated material sufficient for a

second volume, and advised action authorizing its publication. On motion of Vice-President Goodrich, voted that the secretary be authorized to issue a second volume of the society's proceedings as soon as it may seem advisable.

Mention was made of a recent gift to the city, by Miss Mary E. Hartwell, of the locality known as Falulah, the desire of the donor being that the tract should be added to the city's park system, and that it should retain its present name. In answer to an inquiry it was stated that the name Falulah was suggested by that of a character in a once popular romance, and that it was first applied to the locality by Mr. William E. Hartwell (brother of the donor), who formerly owned it.

Mr. F. F. Woodward called attention to the fact that Rev. George M. Bodge of Leominster, a member of this society, had in press a volume entitled "Soldiers in King Philip's War," which has been pronounced a valuable contribution to American history, full of interest especially to every descendant of the New England settlers. He commended it to the attention and patronage of the members.

JANUARY 20, 1896.—The annual meeting of the society was held at the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Dr. Ernest P. Miller, Mrs. Myra B. Miller and Mr. Henry A. Hale of Fitchburg were elected active members, and Rev. Henry F. Jenks of Canton, Mass., a corresponding member.

The Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian presented their annual reports. Mention was made by the Secretary that arrangements were in progress for securing the incorporation of the society under the laws of the Commonwealth.

The annual election of officers of the society resulted as follows:

President, ...	Henry A. Willis.
1st Vice-President, . .	Henry A. Goodrich.
2d Vice-President, . .	Frederick F. Woodward.
Treasurer and Librarian, .	Atherton P. Mason.
Secretary, ...	James F. D. Garfield.
Committee on Nominations,	3 years, Charles Fosdick.

Mr. Charles Fosdick read a selection relating to some early newspapers, and exhibited specimens illustrating the subject.

Mr. Charles E. Ware read a communication published in the *Sentinel* in 1854, written by William E. Hartwell, in which the name Falulah was first applied to the locality now known by that name.

INCORPORATION.

JANUARY 18, 1896.—An agreement to associate for the purpose of constituting a corporation under the laws of the Commonwealth, to be known as the Fitchburg Historical Society, was signed by the following named persons, viz.:

Henry A. Willis,	Henry O. Putnam,
John W. Kimball,	Charles Henry Putnam,
Ebenezer Bailey,	Amasa Norcross,
Henry A. Goodrich,	Charles F. Baker,
John H. Daniels,	James A. Austin,
Arthur H. Lowe,	Charles E. Ware,
Frederick F. Woodward,	Ebenezer F. Bailey,
Frederick A. Currier,	Joseph G. Edgerly,
Atherton P. Mason,	Alonzo P. Goodridge,
James F. D. Garfield,	Henry F. Rockwell,
Rodney Wallace,	Charles H. Blood.

The objects of the corporation, as stated in the agreement, were "the prosecution of historical and antiquarian research; the collection and preservation of books, papers and relics illustrating the history of Fitchburg and the

neighboring towns; the publication from time to time of the results of such research; and the holding of such real estate as may be desirable for the purposes of the society."

JANUARY 30, 1896.—Pursuant to notice previously issued, a meeting was held at the common council room by subscribers to the above mentioned agreement, for the purpose of organizing a corporation as proposed, to be known as the Fitchburg Historical Society.

The following named persons were present, viz.: Henry A. Goodrich, Frederick F. Woodward, Atherton P. Mason, Ebenezer Bailey, Henry O. Putnam, Frederick A. Currier, James A. Austin, Charles H. Blood and James F. D. Garfield.

Henry A. Goodrich was elected chairman, and James F. D. Garfield temporary clerk. A code of by-laws was adopted, as printed on pages 1 to 5 of this volume. The organization was completed by the choice of the following officers by ballot:

Clerk: James F. D. Garfield.

Executive Committee: Henry A. Willis, Henry A. Goodrich, Frederick F. Woodward, Atherton P. Mason and J. F. D. Garfield.

Treasurer and Librarian: Atherton P. Mason.

Standing Committee on Nominations: Charles Fosdick, for three years; Ebenezer Bailey, for two years; Charles E. Ware, for one year.

At a subsequent meeting of the Executive Committee, Henry A. Willis was elected President, Henry A. Goodrich First Vice-President, and Frederick F. Woodward Second Vice-President.

FEBRUARY 12, 1896.—A special meeting of the incorporated society was held at the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Announcement was made

that a certificate of incorporation had been received for the society from the Secretary of the Commonwealth, the certificate bearing date Feb. 3, 1896. (See page 6.)

Seventy persons proposed for active membership, and seventeen for corresponding membership, were referred to the Standing Committee on Nominations.

FEBRUARY 17, 1896.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the common council room, President Willis in the chair. In accordance with the recommendation of the Committee on Nominations, the following persons were elected to active membership:

Henry B. Adams,
Harrison Bailey,
Louis D. Bartlett,
Charles S. Chapin,
Irving W. Colburn,
George D. Colony,
Walter A. Davis,
George T. Daniels,
David M. Dillon,
Fred N. Dillon,
Edward P. Downe,
William A. Emerson,
Henry A. Estabrook,
Charles Fosdick,
Jabez Fisher,
Jabez F. Fisher,
Edwin A. Goodrich,
Walter F. Greenman,
Charles H. Greene,
Aaron F. Greene,
Charles C. Harris,
Henry A. Hale,
Sullivan W. Huntley,
Henry Jackson,
George H. Jefts,
John Lowe,
David Lowe,
Ernest P. Miller,
Harry G. Morse,
Edgar S. Moulton,
Alfred R. Ordway,
Edward P. Pierce,
George Raymond,
Charles H. Rice,
Clarence W. Spring.
J. Calvin Spaulding,
Charles C. Stratton,
Harry G. Townend,
J. Edward Thompson,
Nathan C. Upham,
George W. Weymouth,
George B. Woodward,
William M. Willis,
Mrs. Sarah C. Brown,
Mrs. Charles S. Chapin,
Mrs. Minerva C. Crocker (life),
Mrs. Florence R. Daniels,
Mrs. Mary L. Fosdick,
Miss Mary E. Jaquith,
Mrs. Mary A. R. Lowe,
Mrs. Annie P. Lowe,
Miss Adelaide Z. McIntire,

Mrs. Myra B. Miller,
Mrs. Sarah A. Putnam,
Mrs. Charlotte L. Raymond,
Mrs. Margaret P. Snow,
Mrs. Ardelia C. Smith,
Mrs. Harriet F. H. Thompson,
Mrs. Sarah A. Torrey,
Mrs. Louisa C. Upton,
Mrs. Lucy B. Upton,
Mrs. Louise H. Wellman,
Mrs. Martha L. Weyman,
Mrs. Martha E. Woodward,
Mrs. Helen A. Wallace,
all of Fitchburg.
William Baker,
of Lunenburg.
George M. Bodge,
Samuel S. Crocker,
Mrs. Martha E. Crocker,
Francis E. Nims,
of Leominster.

The following named persons were elected corresponding members:

Col. Ivers Phillips of Boulder, Col.
Ray Greene Huling of Cambridge, Mass.
Dr. James Greene of Boston, Mass.
Thomas C. Caldwell of Boston, Mass.
Francis Tinker of Norwood, Mass.
Lilly B. Caswell of Athol, Mass.
Francis B. Shepley of Boston, Mass.
Rev. George S. Ball of Upton, Mass.
Hon. Ezra S. Stearns of Rindge, N. H.
Thomas Mack of Boston, Mass.
John Simonds of San Francisco, Cal.
Charles W. Bardeen of Syracuse, N. Y.
Miss Georgianna S. Boutwell of Groton, Mass.
Rev. Henry S. Burrage of Portland, Me.
Ripley Hitchcock of New York, N. Y.
Rev. Henry F. Jenks of Canton, Mass.
Charles K. Darling of Boston, Mass.

It was voted to adopt the seal heretofore used by the society as the seal of the corporation.

A paper was read by the Secretary, giving a sketch of Rev. John Payson, the first minister of Fitchburg.

MARCH 16, 1896.—Regular monthly meeting at the common council room, President Willis in the chair.

Rev. Walter F. Greenman read a paper entitled "An Interlude of Church Discipline in Fitchburg," the paper relating particularly to the period covered by the pastorate of Rev. Titus T. Barton, but including also a brief review of the ecclesiastical history of the town from the settlement of Rev. John Payson to and including that of Rev. Samuel Worcester.

APRIL 20, 1896.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the common council room. In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, Mr. F. A. Currier was called to the chair. Rev. Charles T. Billings of Hingham was elected a corresponding member, and Elijah M. Dickinson and Alvin C. Caswell, both of Fitchburg, were elected to active membership.

The Secretary read a paper relating to the early settlement of Lunenburg, and the part taken by Lunenburg people in the settlement of towns in southern New Hampshire and along the Connecticut river.

MAY 18, 1896.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Mr. Frederick L. Rolph was elected a member of the society.

A paper prepared by Mrs. Mary A. R. Lowe—read in her absence by her son, Mr. David Lowe—gave an interesting sketch of the military career and public services of Lieut. Seth Phillips, who was a resident of Fitchburg from 1779 to the time of his death in 1828. An interesting feature in connection with his military record was the original orderly book kept by him for a time, during the siege of Boston, from which copious extracts were read. Several other documents of local interest were exhibited, including lists of Fitchburg tax-payers of a century ago, which had been handed down from Lieut. Phillips as collector.

Mr. Fosdick stated that the quarries on Rollstone are approaching so near to the top of the hill as to threaten the destruction of the large boulder; and suggested that some action should be taken by the society with reference to the preservation of that familiar landmark. On his motion a committee was appointed to confer with the owners and report what measures can be taken to secure its preservation.

JUNE 15, 1896.—Regular monthly meeting at the aldermen's room, President Willis in the chair. Mrs. John W. Kimball and Mrs. Caroline W. Stimson were elected members of the society.

A letter from Rev. Charles T. Billings of Hingham was read, accepting corresponding membership.

Mr. Henry A. Goodrich read an interesting paper, entitled "Fitchburg Pioneers in Kansas," in which he referred briefly to the organized emigration to the territory from New England, and gave an extended account of the pioneers from Fitchburg, of the part they took in early settlement of the territory, and of their influence in the political and educational affairs of the new state.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1896.—Regular monthly meeting at common council room, President Willis in the chair. Mrs. E. M. F. Hartwell, Mrs. Henrietta Baker, Henry M. Francis and John Q. Peabody were elected active members, and Mr. Carl W. Ernst of Boston a corresponding member of the society.

Dr. A. P. Mason read a paper on the life and character of Rev. George Trask, tracing his career from boyhood to manhood, giving an interesting account of his labors in his anti-tobacco crusade, with brief references to other members of the family. The reading was followed by remarks and characteristic anecdotes of Mr. Trask by H. A. Goodrich, F. F. Woodward and other members.

OCTOBER 19, 1896.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the common council room, Vice-President Goodrich in the chair. Mr. James F. Stiles of Fitchburg and Mr. Alpheus K. Francis of Lunenburg were elected members of the society.

An interesting donation presented at this meeting was an album containing one hundred photographic views of local scenery, contributed by amateur photographers of the city, and representing many familiar street scenes, historic buildings and rare bits of rural scenery. The contributors were Harry G. Townend, Frank E. Fairbanks, F. A. Young, Robert A. Rice, Edmund D. Garfield and Mary L. Garfield. The thanks of the society were presented to the donors.

A paper was read by the secretary, J. F. D. Garfield, relating to the locality known as Falulah, showing the origin of the name, and giving particulars of its donation to the city for park purposes by Miss Mary E. Hartwell, as a memorial to her brother, William E. Hartwell, who died May 30, 1858, at the age of 24 years.

Mr. S. S. Crocker of Leominster gave interesting reminiscences of Fitchburg as it was sixty to seventy years ago, when he became a resident of the town, referring particularly to the early paper making here, and the great improvements in all branches of manufacturing since that time.

NOVEMBER 16, 1896.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the aldermen's room, Vice-President Goodrich occupying the chair. Misses Mary E. and Ellen A. Snow were elected active members, and Mrs. Sara T. L. Robinson of Lawrence, Kansas, a corresponding member of the society.

Mr. Charles Fosdick read selections from the diary of Joseph Adams, a Revolutionary soldier from Holliston,

the selections covering a period during the autumn of 1776, while the writer was engaged in the service in and about New York city. The portion read is owned by Mr. Elbridge G. Snow of this city, who kindly loaned it to the society, and is but a fragment of the whole diary, another portion being owned by a gentleman in Dublin, N. H.

DECEMBER 21, 1896.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the common council room, Vice-President F. F. Woodward presiding.

Mrs. Emma W. Harris of Arlington was elected a corresponding member. A letter was read from Mrs. Sara T. L. Robinson of Lawrence, Kansas, accepting corresponding membership.

A letter was read from Charles K. Darling, Esq., of Boston, inclosing a copy of the petition of Joseph Fox to the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1798, in behalf of the town of Fitchburg, praying for the remission of a fine imposed upon the town for neglecting to send a representative to the General Court the year previous, and giving plausible reasons why his petition should be granted.

Mr. Charles Fosdick read a paper entitled "Some Transplanted Buildings in Fitchburg," in which he gave an entertaining account of some historic structures that in the march of improvement have, from time to time, been removed from their original positions and transported to other locations. After the reading, brief remarks were made by Seth Twichell, the veteran building mover, and some pertinent anecdotes were related by members.

Vice-President Woodward entertained the meeting with a talk on genealogy, and presented a chart of the Woodward ancestry for the inspection of the members.

JANUARY 18, 1897.—The annual meeting of the society was held at the common council room, President Willis in the chair.

The secretary read his fifth annual report, reviewing the work of the society for the five years of its existence, and closing as follows:

"The want of suitable rooms in which to store our collections and to arrange them for convenient reference, is still the great drawback to the usefulness of our society. The longer it remains as now, without a home, and the more extensive its collections become—so much the deeper are they buried from our own sight—so much the farther are they placed beyond the reach of the public—and the more difficult and remote the possibility of the society fulfilling its proper mission."

The treasurer read his fifth annual report showing a cash balance in the treasury of $212.66.

The librarian presented his annual report showing the receipt during the year of 139 bound volumes, 129 pamphlets, and a variety of other material.

A ballot for officers for the ensuing year resulted in the election of the following:

Executive Committee: Henry A. Willis, Henry A. Goodrich, Frederick F. Woodward, Atherton P. Mason, and James F. D. Garfield.

Clerk: James F. D. Garfield.

Treasurer and Librarian: Atherton P. Mason.

Committee on Nominations: Charles E. Ware, 3 years.

At a subsequent meeting of the Executive Committee the following officers were elected:

President: Henry A. Willis.

1st Vice-President: Henry A. Goodrich.

2d Vice-President: Frederick F. Woodward.

The paper of the evening was by Mr. Frederick A. Currier, whose subject was "The Proposed Massachusetts Canal from Boston to the Hudson River," surveys for which were made in 1825–6, through Fitchburg and other

northern towns of Massachusetts. Interesting details of the survey were given, with much information relating to other canals of the period.

FEBRUARY 15, 1897.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Mr. Otis P. Abercrombie of Lunenburg, Mrs. Sarah A. Billings and Mr. Orin M. Lowe of Fitchburg were elected active members, and Mr. Abram S. Dole of Fitchburg was elected an honorary member of the society.

President Willis read a paper entitled "The Birth of Fitchburg—its First Settlers and their Homes." The paper was replete with information relating to the early history of the town, and was illustrated with a map showing its original boundaries and natural features, and also the location of every family in the place at the time of its incorporation.

MARCH 15, 1897.—The regular monthly meeting was held at Phillips chapel, President Willis in the chair. Messrs. Ezra B. Rockwood and Albert B. Peck were elected members of the society.

The address of the evening was given by Rev. George M. Bodge of Leominster, who spoke on "Arms, Methods and Events in Colonial Warfare"—tracing the prominent events in New England history from the landing of the Pilgrims to the close of King Philip's war. The lecture was profusely illustrated with the stereopticon and was listened to by a large and interested audience, consisting of members and invited guests.

APRIL 19, 1897.—Regular monthly meeting at the common council room, President Willis in the chair. Messrs. Abel L. Thurston and Frank E. Fairbanks of Fitchburg were elected active members, and Mrs. Margaret Smith Ray of Franklin, Mass., was made a corresponding member of the society.

An interesting paper was read by President Willis, giving in brief the history of the repeated attempts, during the past one hundred and sixty years, to divide the county of Worcester, and to create a new county from portions of Worcester and Middlesex. Particulars were given of legislative action upon the subject at different periods, and extracts were read from arguments relating thereto presented before legislative committees.

MAY 17, 1897.—The regular monthly meeting was held at the common council room, President Willis presiding. Messrs. Walter Perley Hall, Robert N. Wallis and Wilbur W. Henry of Fitchburg were elected active members, and Mr. James M. Upton of Boston was made a corresponding member of the society.

On motion it was voted to amend Article VIII, Section 3 of the by-laws by inserting the words "June" and "September" in the second line, (as printed on page 4 of this volume,) making it read as follows: "The other regular meetings shall be held on the third Monday of each month, excepting *June*, July, August and *September*."

Two papers were read—the first by Mr. Charles Fosdick, who took for his subject "An Early Fitchburg Newspaper," in which he reviewed copies of the *Fitchburg Gazette*, the first paper published in the town, and presented the methods of journalism of sixty to seventy years ago in marked contrast with those of the present time.

The second paper—by J. F. D. Garfield—consisted of a record of the military service of the Gibsons of Fitchburg, Lunenburg and Ashby, in the Revolution. Three sons and fifteen grandsons of Timothy Gibson, an early proprietor of Lunenburg—all of the Gibson name—responded to their country's call for service, twelve of whom were residents of Fitchburg and served on its quota.

THE BIRTH OF FITCHBURG—ITS FIRST SETTLERS AND THEIR HOMES.

Read at a meeting of the Society, February 15, 1897.

BY HENRY A. WILLIS.

The birth of a town is always a matter of great interest. In modern times such an event is usually the result of long agitation of the subject and sometimes a bitter contest, especially where a division of a town is involved; and the culmination is made the occasion of a public demonstration and great rejoicing. Not thus did the little municipality of Fitchburg make its advent in the sisterhood of towns of the old Bay State in the year 1764. It is true that the project had been before the town of Lunenburg at different times during the years 1757 to 1764, but there is nothing in the meagre history we have on the town records to show that at any time was there any bitterness of feeling engendered. Let us review the action of these seven years as we find it recorded in town and state records.

It should be stated that the lands comprising the present city of Fitchburg and several of the towns in this part of the state were, up to the early part of the eighteenth century, vested in the Province of Massachusetts Bay. From time to time grants were made by the General Court to petitioners for the formation of new towns, sometimes for money consideration, sometimes for services rendered, either military or otherwise. Thus Ashburnham and Westminster were granted to soldiers and the heirs of soldiers,

for services rendered in the Indian wars. Lunenburg and Townsend were granted for a money consideration in response to petitioners for the same.

As Fitchburg is in a sense the child of Lunenburg, it may be proper to briefly refer to the beginnings of the parent town. The first inception of the Town of Lunenburg was the passage of an Act by the General Court of Massachusetts, as per the following record:

An Accot of the Genell Courts Commtees Proceedings In Granting And Lotting out the Lands in the South Town Ship Westward of And Contiguous To ye Town of Groton in the County of Middsx Called Turky Hills By Virtue of ye Grant or Order of ye Genell Court.

At a Great & General Court or Affembly for His Majefties Province of ye Maſsachusets Bay Held Nov 4. 1719

In ye Houſe of Repreſentatives The Vote for Granting Two New Towns Was brought Down from the Board with Amendments Which Wear Read & Agreed to, And ye Vote is as follows: Viz Voted that Two Towns Each Containing a Quantity of Land not Exceeding Six Miles Square to be Laid out in as Regular Forms as ye Lines Will Allow, to be Settled in a Defenſible Manner On ye Weſterly Side of Groton Weſt Line, And that William Tailer, Samuel Thaxter, Francis Fullam Capt John Shiply & Mr Benjamin Whittemore be a Commtee fully Impowered to Allott and Grant out ye Land Contained in Each of ye said Towns (a Lot not to Exceed Two Hundred & Fifty Acres) to Such PrSons & Only Such as Will Effectualy Settle ye Same Within ye Space of three Years Next Enſuing ye Laying out & Granting Such Lotts by Sd Commtee Who Are Inſtructed & Directed to Admitt Eighty Families or perſons at Least Who Shall pay to ye Sd Commtee for ye Uſe of ye Province the Sum of Five pounds for Each Allottmt Which Shall be Granted & Allotted as afforeſd And that Each Prson to Whom Such Lot or Lotts Shall be granted & Laid out Shal be Obliged to build a Good Dwelling Houſe theron & Inhabit it, & alſo to break up & Fence in three Acres of Land at ye Leaſt Within ye Term of three Years, and yt there be Laid out & Reſerved for ye firſt Settled Miniſter a good Convenient Lot alſo A Lot for ye School, And A Miniſterial Lot & A Lot for Harvard Colledge of Two Hundred & fifty acres Each & ye Settlers be Obliged To build A Convenient House for ye Worſhip of God in Each of Sd Towns within The Term of four years, & to pay ye Charge of

Neceſary Surveye & ye Commtee for their Service in & About ye premiſes. And that ye Commtee Give Publick Notice of ye Time & place When they Will Meet to Grant Allottmts

Conſented to, SAMLL SHUTE

I find that the "Act to create these two new towns" did not pass without much discussion between the "House" and the "Council," and a committee of conference to adjust the differences, but was finally enacted Deccember 7, 1719.

It seems that the record of this grant was lost by the burning of the court house in Boston, and I find that in 1773 John Taylor, representative in the general court for Lunenburg and Fitchburg, procured the passage of an act entitled "An Act for confirming the Titles and Quieting the Possessions of the towns of Lunenburg and Fitchburg."

The foregoing grant provided that each of the new towns should contain "a quantity of land not exceeding six miles square," but it was subsequently found that the lines as described for the South Town or Lunenburg gave about twelve and one-half miles square. No action to rectify the error was instituted until one year after Lunenburg became incorporated, when we find recorded in the records of the general court the following:

FRIDAY Nov 28, 1729. A Petition of Josiah Willard Esq and others a committee of the town of Lunenburg in the County of Middlesex showing that the inhabitants have been at the charge of a new and more exact survey of the said town and find thereby that they have 4197 acres of land within the limits of their township above the original grant of six miles square and for as much as they have been at great charge and difficulty in their settlement by reason of the war therefore praying that the plan of said town may be Accepted and confirmed notwithstanding the said over measure.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Read and Ordered that the Said plan be accepted and that the land therein deliniated and described be, and hereby is confirmed to the Grantees of Lunenburg their heirs and

assigns — Provided it exceed not the contents set forth in the Petition nor interfere with any other or former grants.

In Council Read & Concurred

Consented to WM DUMMER.

The committee of allotment named in the original grant met at Concord May 11, 1720, and formulated their rules in accordance with the same, which were as follows:

That Each & Every PrSon to Whom A Lot is or Shall be granted (No Allottmt or Share to Exceed ye Quantity of 250 Acres) Shal be Obliged at ye Entring his Name With ye Commtee to pay Down ye Sum of fifty Shillings in part, And at ye Drawing of his Lott, or When ye Same is Laid out, The Sum of fifty Shillings More in full of ye five pounds for ye uſe of ye Province. And if any PrSon Who Enters his Name, & pays ye first fifty Shillings Shall Neglect or Refuſe to pay ye Laſt fifty to Compleat ye five pounds As Ordered by the General Court, When his Lott is Laid out & Redy for Draft, Every Such PrSon Shal forfit his first payment And ye Lott be free to be Granted to An Other proper perſon as ye Commtee Shall See Meet.

That Every PrSon to Whom a Lott is or Shall be Granted Shall be, & is hereby Obliged To build A good Dwelling Houſe on his Sd Allottmt And also to break up, & Sufficiently fence in three Acres of Land at ye Leaſt Within ye Space of three years After ye Sd Lotts are Laid out & Drawn, And Do also pay & Do Each of their full proportions Towards ye Building & Finiſhing of A Convenient Houſe for ye Publick Worſhip of God, in Such Town Where his Lott Shall fall, Sd Houſe to be Finiſhed in four Years According to ye Order of ye General Court, And Do also pay ye Neceſary Charge of ye Surveys And ye Commtee for their Servic in And & bout ye Premiſes.

That Every Grantee to Whom A Lott is or Shal be Granted Shall be & is hereby Enjoyned Effectualy To Settle & Inhabit ye Same In his Own Proper PrSon, And Not have Liberty in Any Way What So Ever to Sell or Alienate or Any Ways to Diſpoſe of His Interest or Allottmt in Either of Said Towns to Any PrSon What So Ever Untill the Whole Conditions Enjoyned by ye General Court be fully Complied With, & Prformed, Without ye Leave & Approbation of The Commtee Or the Majer part of them. Nor to Any PrSon, or prSons But Such As They Shall Approve And to be Accepted by ye Commtee

Eighty lots were awarded at this time, and these with subsequent allotments made up what was then known as "South Town Turkey Hills," and so continued until August 1, 1728, when the district was incorporated under the name of Lunenburg; the name being in honor of George II, who had just ascended the British throne, and who bore the title "Duke of Lunenburg." The first town meeting was held August 19, 1728.

The other township provided for in the act was known as the North Town, and was later incorporated as Townsend.

Lunenburg had a territory about twelve miles long by six miles wide. For thirty years town affairs had gone smoothly on with the inhabitants, scattered as they were over this broad territory, largely a wilderness. But it so happened that some of the most influential men of the town lived in the western portion, now Fitchburg, and they had much to do with the management of the public affairs; and in course of time they concluded that they did not like to travel from four to eight miles to get to their church or their town meeting. So in March, 1757, we find Samuel Hunt and others petitioning to have the western portion set off to be made a separate town. This petition was referred to a committee to be reported on at the May meeting. The committee did report, and after debate the matter was re-committed for some amendment, to be reported at the September meeting. No report was made at the September meeting, according to the records, and nothing more is recorded on the subject for four years.

But we find in 1761 another movement looking to the establishment of a separate community, which was a request of Samuel Hunt and others to be set off as a "separate parish." This was considered in town meeting, May 26, 1761, but was defeated. There the matter rested until

1763 when, at another town meeting held March 7, 1763, the petition of Benjamin Foster and others to be set off "a distinct precinct by themselves" was in the warrant, but the town refused to act. At a meeting on the 19th of the following May, a petition was received asking that the westerly portion of the town be set off for a new town. This time they were in earnest. It was not a precinct, not a parish, but a *town* they asked for. This petition was considered and refused, or as the record runs "it passed in the negative."

Now they were thoroughly aroused. The Legislature convened the following month and we find, by the Journal of the House, that on the third day of June, 1763, a petition of Amos Kimball and Ephraim Whitney, agents, and more than forty other inhabitants of the westerly part of Lunenburg, to be set off for a new town, was acted upon in the House as follows: "The petition was read, and it was ordered that Mr. Wood, Colonel Gerrish and Captain Lawrence, with such as the Honorable Board shall appoint, be a committee to consider the petition and report." Sent up for concurrence.

Under the same date in Council is the record, "Nathaniel Ropes, Esq., brought down the petition of Amos Kimball and Ephraim Whitney as entered this afternoon. Passed in Council, viz.—In Council June 3, 1763, Read and non-concurred and ordered that the petition be dismissed." Sent down for concurrence. Then follows this record in the House, "Read and non-concurred and the House adheres to their own vote. Sent up for concurrence." This ended the matter for the time being as there was no concurrence.

It was quite a set back, but the petitioners, far from being discouraged, again appeared in town meeting January 25, 1764, with the same identical petition as to territory as was offered at the meeting the previous May, and

the request was granted with apparently little opposition; and there is no evidence, as before stated, that any bad feeling had grown out of the various discussions, but it is probable that in simple justice the claim was at last recognized.

The inhabitants of the west part immediately chose the following committee to procure an act of incorporation: John Fitch, Amos Kimball, Samuel Hunt, Ephraim Whitney, and Jonathan Wood. On February 1st, six days later, we find them presenting a petition to the Legislature, the record whereof I find to be as follows:

"FEB. 1, 1764. Petition of sundry Inhabitants of Lunenburg praying to be erected into a distinct District for the purposes mentioned." "Read and Ordered that the petitioners have liberty to bring in a bill for the purposes mentioned."

And it appears from the Journal of the House that the following act was, on the third of February, 1764, introduced and passed:

Anno Regni Regis Georgii Tertii Quarto.

AN ACT for setting off the Inhabitants as also the Estates of the westerly part of Lunenburg into a separate town by the name of Fitchburgh:

Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and House of Representatives, that the Inhabitants with their lands on the westerly part of Lunenburg beginning at such a place on Leominster line as that a straight line therefrom may run between the lands of Messrs. Paul Wetherby and Jonathan Wood to a stake and stone a small distance to the westward of Mary Holt's house, then turning and running north 10 degrees and one-half east to the southeast corner of Ephraim Whitney's land, then to keep the easterly line of said Whitney's land to the northeast corner thereof and from that corner to run northwardly on the eastwardly line of John White's land to the northeastwardly corner thereof and from that corner to run north four degrees east to Townsend line, then running west thirty-one degrees and one-half north on Townsend line to Dorchester Canada line, then turning south, nine degrees west, eight miles and one hundred and forty rods on Dorchester Canada line to Westminster line, then turning east eleven degrees thirty minutes south, three miles

and thirty-one rods to a heap of stones in Leominster line, then turning and running to the bounds first mentioned, be and hereby is set off and erected into a separate town by the name of Fitchburgh, and that the said town be invested with all the powers, privileges and immunities that other towns in this Province do or may by law enjoy: That of sending a Representative to the General Assembly only excepted, and that the inhabitants of said town shall have full power and right from time to time to join with the said town of Lunenburg in the choice of a Representative or Representatives, and be subject to pay their proportionable part of the charges, who may be chosen either in the town of Lunenburg or the town of Fitchburgh, in which choice they shall enjoy all the privileges which by law they would have been entitled to if this act had not been made; and the Selectmen of the town of Lunenburg shall issue their Warrant to one or more of the Constables of the town of Fitchburgh requiring them to notify the inhabitants of the town of Fitchburgh of the time and place of their meeting for such choice. Provided, nevertheless, and be it further enacted, that the said town of Fitchburgh shall pay their proportion of all Town, County, and Province Taxes already set on or granted to be raised by said town of Lunenburg as if this act had not been made.

And be it further enacted, that Edward Hartwell, Esq., be and hereby is empowered to issue his Warrant directed to some principal inhabitant in said town of Fitchburgh, requiring him to notify and warn the inhabitants of said town qualified by law to vote in town affairs, to meet at such time and place as shall be therein set forth, to choose all such officers as shall be necessary to manage the affairs of said town.

February 2d, 1764. This bill having been read three several times in the House of Representatives, passed to be enacted.

TIMOTHY RUGGLES, *Speaker.*

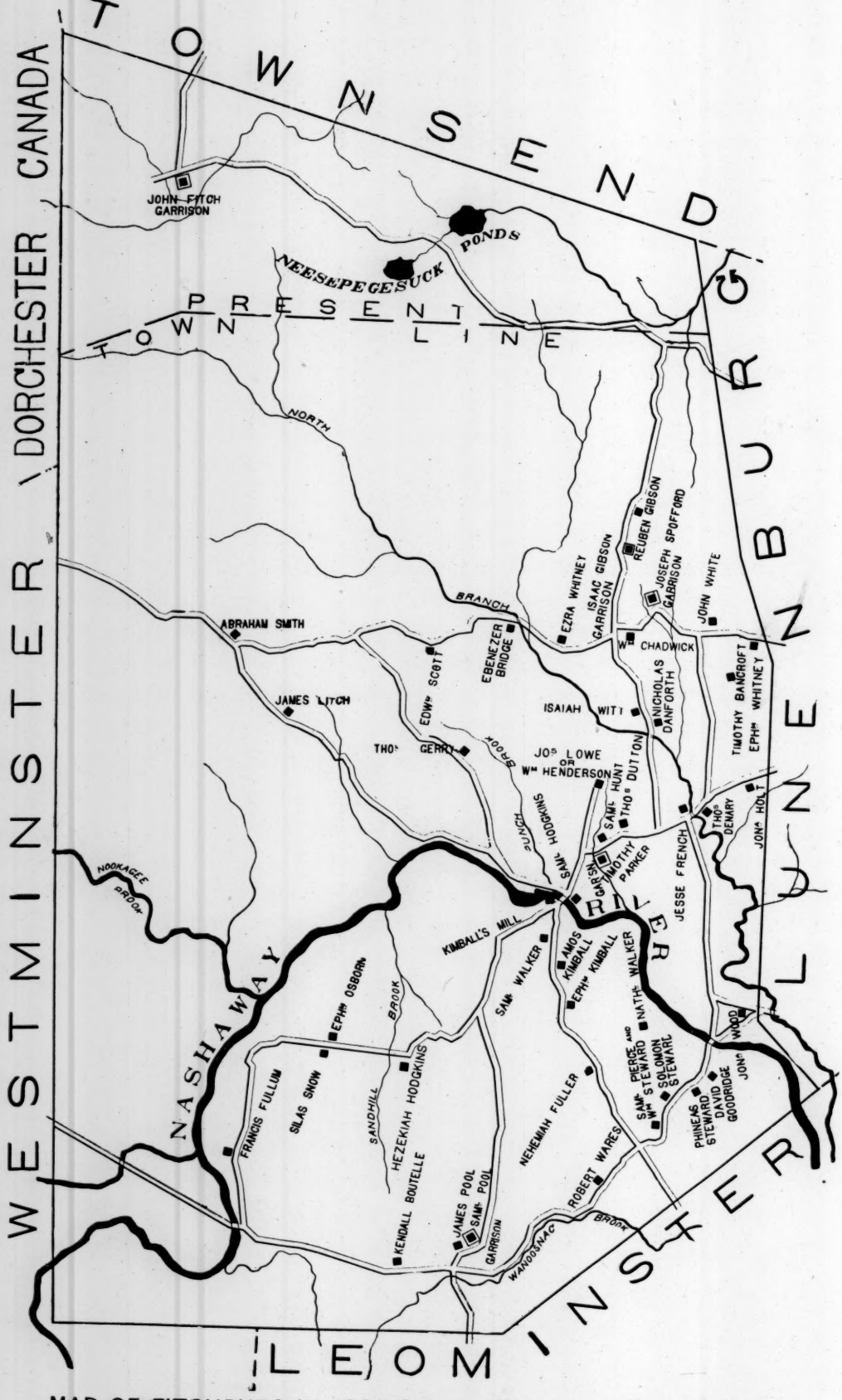
February 3d, 1764. This bill having been read three several times in Council, passed to be enacted. A. OLIVER, *Secretary.*

February 3d, 1764. By the Governor. I consent to enacting this bill.

FREDERICK BARNARD.

A true copy:—Examined, per JNO. COLTON, *D. Sec'ry.*

The original of this act can be seen at the State House pasted in a book like a scrap-book, and from its appearance I should judge it might have been written by one of the committee. The petition which should be with it is missing. This committee were paid, by vote of the new



MAP OF FITCHBURG IN 1764, SHOWING LOCATION OF EARLY SETTLERS.

town, for their services, as follows: Amos Kimball £13–9^{d}, Samuel Hunt £8–8^{d}, John Fitch £1–2^{s}–5^{d}, Ephraim Whitney £1–1^{s}–4^{d}, Jonathan Wood 15^{s}.

The original bill referred to above did not give any name to the new town, and I am informed by an official in the "Archives Department" at the State House that it was not customary to insert the name of the town until the same got to the engrossment; and who suggested that John Fitch's name should be used does not appear. But the above list of expenses shows that Kimball and Hunt undoubtedly had the case in hand and went to Boston to get the matter through the Legislature, and wisely took the liberty of perpetuating the name of the hero of the Indian fight and their trusty watchman on the northern frontier, by attaching it to the new town, and it became Fitchburg. So the new-fledged town started on its career, and its first town meeting was held March 5, 1764.

It is the purpose of this paper and the accompanying map to locate the residences of the families comprising the population of the new town (in all about 250 persons), and as far as may be to give a brief sketch of the heads of these families.

It will be observed by the map that the shape of the town was quite different than at present, the outer lines showing the territory as originally incorporated, and the dotted line in the upper part indicating the present northern boundary of the city, after a portion had been set off to Ashby. Some other slight changes were made from time to time by ceding to and taking from the towns of Westminster and Leominster small parcels which do not materially change the original lines.

It may be well to give here the dates of incorporation of the several towns bounding us at the time of our incorporation. Lunenburg, as has been stated, was incorporated in 1728, having been granted by the General Court in 1719,

for a valuable consideration, to a number of persons upon their petition, and until its incorporation was known as "Turkey Hills South Town." Townsend was incorporated in 1732. Leominster was taken from Lancaster, and incorporated in 1740. Ashburnham was incorporated in 1765, and was previously known as "Dorchester Canada;" the town having been granted "to Thomas Tileston and others for and in consideration of services done by officers and soldiers from Dorchester in the expedition to Canada in 1690." Westminster was incorporated in 1769. Before that it was styled "Narragansett No. 2," it having been granted by the General Court to the soldiers who did service in the Narragansett war. Ashby, a portion of which was taken from Fitchburg, was incorporated in 1767.

The roads across the territory were few in number and are indicated on the map. The principal and oldest ones were—the road entering the town from Lunenburg near Jonathan Holt's place, and by Pearl and Blossom streets, turning west at a point now the corner of Main and Blossom streets, running over about the same location of the present Main and Prospect streets, over Flat Rock and Dean hill to Ashburnham; another entered the town near Ephraim Whitney's place, running westerly and passing the garrisons of Joseph Spafford and Isaac Gibson, continuing over Pearl hill and northwesterly to the garrison of John Fitch. Another road started from a point near Jesse French's place, on the first named road, running westerly to Jonathan Woods' near the river, thence on about the location of the present Intervale Road, Bemis road, Wanoosnoc road and Turnpike road, near the garrison of Samuel Poole, and on to Westminster line.

The road to Leominster commenced at Kimball's mill, running over the present location of South street, passing the residences of the Kimballs and Nehemiah Fuller, to Leominster line, as indicated on the map.

The river running through the town I have given the old Indian name of "Nashaway," although in the Lunenburg Records it is never spoken of by that name, but is called "the river," and the "great river," while in the older "Proprietors' Records" it is called the "Lancaster North river" and the brook which appears on the map as North Branch, is alluded to as the "north branch of Lancaster North river." Nockegee brook and Wanoosnoc brook are Indian names. The origin of the suggestive name of Punch brook is unknown, but it is found in the records as early as 1750. The names of Pearl hill and Appletree hill are found as early as 1730, Rollstone hill in 1731, but Oak hill, Brown's hill, Dean hill and Mount Elam are of more recent origin.

The residences were widely scattered, but they are all indicated with the names of the owners. It seems natural that we should commence with the name of John Fitch, for whom the town was named.

JOHN FITCH lived at the extreme north-west portion of of the town, on what was known as the Northfield road, and the site of his residence has been suitably marked, through the efforts of this society, by a monument which was dedicated July 4, 1894. On that occasion Hon. Ezra S. Stearns, a lineal descendant of Mr. Fitch, delivered an address giving a full account of his life and the sufferings of himself and family at the hands of the Indians. As this is contained in full in the first volume of Proceedings published by this society, I will not give any lengthy sketch here. He was born in Billerica, Mass., February 12, 1708, and moved to Lunenburg in 1732 and settled in the south-west portion of the town on the Lancaster road. He moved to the Northfield road in 1739, where he maintained one of the garrisons erected for the protection of the frontier, and also from 1744 to 1766 kept tavern there. He married

Susannah Gates of Stow, for his first wife, and widow Elizabeth Peirce of Groton for his second. He had seven children. He died April 8, 1795, aged 87 years.

Deacon Amos Kimball of Bradford, and his cousin Ephraim from Bradford, settled within the limits of the present town of Fitchburg about 1745. Both settled on what is now South street. Amos was the son of Thomas and Jennie Kimball, and was born in Bradford, Mass. He was admitted to the First Church in Lunenburg from the First Church in Bradford, June 11, 1749. He was a deacon, and was appointed "to set the psalm." He was dismissed from the First Church in Lunenburg to the First Church in Fitchburg, January 2, 1768. He settled on the place now owned by Henry A. Hale, and built the house which is still standing in the rear of Mr. Hale's residence, at No. 100 South street.

Deacon Kimball once had an exciting experience with the Indians. As related by Torrey, it was a few days after the capture of John Fitch and his family. The Deacon was hoeing corn in his field, and, hearing a rustling in the brush fence near him, he looked in that direction and saw a gun pointed at him through the fence, by an Indian. The latter seemed to be reserving his fire until his victim should draw a little nearer. Kimball knew that if he ran, it would be sure death, as he was so near; so he pretended not to see anything, and kept scratching with his hoe, and working off—looking down, as if busily at work—till he supposed that he had attained to a sufficient distance to give him a chance to escape. He then made good use of his heels. The Indian, as his only chance, fired, and the ball struck a tree a short distance in front of his intended victim. As Kimball immediately gave the alarm, this scout thought it best to be off.

Mr. Kimball died in Fitchburg Oct. 6, 1774, aged 57. He had four sons and two daughters, as follows:

Elizabeth, born at Bradford, April 20, 1745.
Phinehas, born at Lunenburg, January 6, 1747.
Dolly, born at Lunenburg, October 25, 1749.
Amos, born at Lunenburg, September 25, 1752.
Thomas, born at Lunenburg, September 5, 1754.
Ebenezer, born at Lunenburg, June 14. 1760.

EPHRAIM KIMBALL settled about one hundred rods to the south on land later known as the Story farm; his house, no longer standing, having occupied nearly the site of the residence of Isaac O. Monroe, Jr., No. 210 South street. Together they at once built a grist and saw mill, near the site of the present Cushing grain mill, and continued in business for many years. This was the only business establishment in Fitchburg in 1764. In 1772 Ephraim opened a store in a part of a house which stood near their mill, and presumably at that time his residence. This was the first store opened in Fitchburg, being eight years after its incorporation; the inhabitants until that time having continued to do their trading in Lunenburg.

We find from the records that both of the Kimballs had been prominent in the public affairs of Lunenburg, before Fitchburg was set off, and in the new town after its incorporation. Amos had been at different times, selectman (five years), assessor, school committee in 1753, surveyor of wood and lumber, and served on various important committees in Lunenburg. In Fitchburg he was moderator of the first town meeting March 5, 1764, which was held in Samuel Hunt's tavern, on the site of S. S. Holton's residence on Pearl street; was on the first board of selectmen, and on subsequent boards; member of the school committee, deacon of the First Church and on the committee for building the first meeting-house. He gave the acre of land for the burying ground on South street.

Ephraim Kimball was highway surveyor, and held various minor offices in Lunenburg and in Fitchburg; was town treasurer of Fitchburg in 1765, and held other offices; was also ensign in the militia, and deacon in the church. He was an important factor in the councils of the town. He married Mary Wetherbee, and had three sons and eight daughters:

Mary, born at Lunenburg, January 14, 1747/8.
Annie, born at Lunenburg, December 24, 1749.
Ephraim, born at Lunenburg, February 15, 1752.
Rachel, born at Lunenburg, September 5, 1754.
Levi, born at Lunenburg, October 23, 1756.
Hannah, born at Lunenburg, December 1, 1758.
Betty, born at Lunenburg, March 31, 1761.
Abigail, born at Lunenburg, April 23, 1763.
Eliphalet, born at Fitchburg, July 22, 1765.
Elizabeth, born at Fitchburg, July 17, 1767.
Sarah, born at Fitchburg, August 6, 1770.

He was the ancestor of Alpheus P., William and Gen. John W. Kimball, now living here.

Solomon Steward was the son of Solomon and Martha Steward, who came from Bradford, Mass., in 1738. He married, May 28, 1755, Elizabeth Taylor of Lunenburg. He lived on what is known as Wanoosnoc road, a little above the city farm buildings, on the opposite side of the road. He is found on a number of boards of selectmen, both in Lunenburg and Fitchburg, and served at various times in minor offices.

He had four children, all born in Lunenburg:

Mary, born June 8, 1756.
Betty, born May 10, 1759.
Rebeckah, born March 4, 1761.
Solomon, born August 7, 1763.

They subsequently removed to Canaan, Me., and no descendants are found here.

Phinehas Steward was the son of Solomon and Martha Steward. He lived on the site of the present city

farm buildings. He held minor offices in Lunenburg and Fitchburg. He married Anne Ireland of Lunenburg, April 22, 1756, and they had four sons and two daughters:

Samuel Bird, born at Lunenburg, March 18, 1757.
Anne, born at Lunenburg, November 23, 1758.
Phineas, born at Lunenburg, October 17, 1760.
Abraham, born at Lunenburg, October 15, 1762.
Thomas, born at Lunenburg, February —, 1766.
Martha, born at Lunenburg, June 28, 1772.

They removed to Canaan, Me.

SAMUEL PEIRCE was the son of David and Elizabeth (Bowers) Peirce, who came from Groton and settled in Lunenburg. He was born Nov. 25, 1737. He lived on Wanoosnoc road, on the farm now owned by E. C. Rodimon, just above the city farm. He married, March 19, 1761, Mary Steward, by whom he had six children, as follows:

Sarah, born at Lunenburg, June 7, 1762.
Samuel, born at Fitchburg, April 22, 1765.
Benjamin, born at Fitchburg, April 5, 1767.
Moley, born at Fitchburg, September 5, 1769.
Amasa, born at Fitchburg, December 9, 1771.
Paty, born at Fitchburg, February 17, 1774.

He held minor civil offices in Fitchburg. He was a member of Capt. Ebenezer Woods' company, April 19, 1775, which was the second of the two companies that marched from here that day for the scene of the conflict.

WILLIAM STEWARD was a son of William and Mary (Sanborn) Steward, and married, July 25, 1758, Abigail Ireland of Lunenburg. They lived on Wanoosnoc road, in the house with Samuel Peirce, before referred to, who married, I think, a sister of Mr. Steward. They had five children, as follows:

Abigail, born in Lunenburg, May 19, 1762.
William, born in Fitchburg, January 27, 1765.
Susannah, born in Fitchburg, October 19, 1766.

Jonathan, born in Fitchburg, July 13, 1769.
James, born in Fitchburg, December 25, 1773.

He is recorded as having held some of the less important offices in both Lunenburg and Fitchburg. The family moved to Peterborough, N. H., and I am not aware that he left any descendant in this vicinity.

SAMUEL AND JAMES POOLE were brothers, and came to Lunenburg about 1740, from Stoneham, Mass. Samuel Poole lived on Mt. Elam road, well over the hill going south and nearly down to the turnpike, on an estate now owned by James Goodfellow. His house was one of the five garrisons then situated in this part of Lunenburg. He twice married. By his first wife, Prudence (Townsend), whom he married March 13, 1738, he had seven children, all born in Lunenburg, as follows:

Sarah, born April 15, 1740.
Bette, born March 27, 1742.
Samuel, born February 2, 1743/4.
Jacob, born March 11, 1745/6.
Bette, born March 12, 1747/8.
Judith, born March 16, 1749/50.
Susanna, born January 30, 1752.

He held minor offices in Lunenburg, but I do not find that he held any public positions in Fitchburg. But we find that from 1759 to 1763 he was a licensed innholder, and no doubt dispensed liberal hospitality to the weary travelers, as well as affording protection, in the earlier years in his fortified dwelling, against Indian incursion. He moved to Shelburne, and left no descendants here.

JAMES POOLE lived on Mt. Elam road, a short distance below Samuel Poole, and on the farm now owned by Russell K. Proctor. He was on the board of selectmen in 1774, and on the "committee of safety" in 1775, and held various other offices in the early years of the town. He had also held minor offices in Lunenburg. He was married before coming to Lunenburg, and there were born to him nine children:

James, born April 30, 1741.
Joshua, born September 12, 1744.
Elizabeth, born January 6, 1746/7.
James, born July 4, 1749.
Ruth, born August 14, 1751.
Ruth, born May 27, 1754.
Prudence, born August 19, 1756.
Sarah (twin), born May 30, 1759.
Susannah (twin), born May 30, 1759.

The descendants of James Poole, living here, are George Pratt, a great-great-grandson; Charles C. Harris, a reporter of the Sentinel; and the children of the late Edwin A. Harris. Also, the widow of Kendall Goff and children, of Jaffrey, N. H., and George and John Harris, of Melrose.

Mrs. Poole once had an exciting experience with the Indians. The following is told by her great-grand-daughter, Mrs. Mary Goff of Jaffrey, N. H.: "It was probably at or about the time John Fitch's garrison house was attacked (July 5, 1748), and the family carried into captivity, that a party of Indians attempted to capture Mrs. Poole, who was then about 32 years old. Mr. and Mrs. Poole had been binding flax in the field, and Mr. Poole had gone for his team, when the Indians suddenly appeared between Mrs. Poole and the house. Mr. Poole could not go to her assistance without leaving his young children unprotected, and he concluded to remain with them at the 'garrison' house. The wife soon proved her ability to take care of herself; and, unincumbered by trains or bustles, she ran so rapidly toward Leominster that the savages gave up the pursuit, and they did not attack the house. Mrs. Poole ran to the block house at Leominster and gave the alarm, and the Indians disappeared." The story has been often related by Mrs. Poole's descendants, and undoubtedly is substantially true. She lived to a great age, as is shown by the following record:

"Widow Elizabeth Poole, the oldest person in town, died February 17, 1815, aged ninety-nine years."— *Fitchburg Church Records.*

ROBERT WARES lived on Wanoosnoc road, near the present power station of the Simonds Manufacturing Co., on the place now or lately owned by the heirs of James Kennedy. The old house was standing until a few years since, and in it our ex-Supt. of Streets J. A. Battles was born. I have been unable to get many details as to his family, or to ascertain that he was ever called to any public office; but it is certain that he was one of the soldiers who responded to the sudden call, April 19, 1775, and marched with the company commanded by Ebenezer Woods. Daniel Wares, now living in Ashby, claims to be a great-great-grandson.

KENDALL BOUTELLE lived on the old road in the south part of the town, known as the Turnpike, and on the place now owned by John E. Goodfellow, where Rollstone road meets the old Turnpike. His house stood nearly opposite the present house of Mr. Goodfellow, and the cellar walls are still to be seen. He was born in Leominster, being a son of James and Judith Boutelle. He married Mary Wilder of Leominster, April 1, 1762. He was a man of some prominence in local affairs; was on the school committee in 1773, and held at various times other minor offices. In 1766 he was chosen one of a committee "to dignify the pews" of the new meeting house and give deeds of the same. Deacon Boutelle and Deacon Goodridge seem to have been the two most prominent men in church affairs during the first twenty years of the First Church of Fitchburg. He was licensed as an innholder from 1764 to 1803. Mr. Boutelle was also one of those who "sprang to arms" on the ever memorable 19th of April, 1775, and marched with Captain Ebenezer Woods' company on that day for the "seat of hostilities." He later, in 1777, served in the army in Rhode Island. His children were:

Mary, born at Lunenburg, February 6, 1763.
Kendall, born at Fitchburg, February 6, 1765.
Asaph, born at Fitchburg, November 12, 1767.
Esther, born at Fitchburg, May 26, 1771.
Dorothy, born at Fitchburg, January 28, 1774.
Achsah, born at Fitchburg, November 28, 1777.
John, born at Fitchburg, November 2, 1780.

He died October 19, 1819, aged 83. His wife died May 17, 1812, aged 75. Both are buried in the South street cemetery. No direct descendants of his are living here, to my knowledge.

SILAS SNOW lived on what is now known as Franklin road, running from Rollstone street westerly and round the south side of Oak Hill, past the Fullum place, to the old Turnpike road. His farm was just beyond the junction of Franklin and Oak Hill roads, and on the south side of Franklin road. The place is now owned by Mrs. Mary Farwell. He was not a man of prominence, and we find him holding but a single office, that of "deerieve" in 1764. He was the son of William and Elizabeth (Stephens) Snow, who came to Lunenburg from Woburn, Mass. He was born November 29, 1733, and married November 20, 1760, Anna Farwell of Groton. He died September 16, 1806, and was buried in Lunenburg north cemetery. She died September 10, 1834, aged 92. Both were dismissed from Lunenburg church to Fitchburg church January 2, 1768, but were re-admitted to full communion with the church in Lunenburg from Fitchburg, August 6, 1786. There were twelve children, as follows:

Molly, born September 8, 1761.
Molly, born June 11, 1763.
Silas, born May 16, 1765.
Annie, born March 16, 1767.
Eunice, born June 9, 1769.
Daniel, born June 2, 1771.
Phebe, born December 29, 1772.
Betsey, born June 12, 1775.
William, born September 15, 1777.
Timothy, born November 6, 1779.
Benjamin, born January 7, 1782.
Abigail, born June 15, 1783.

Benjamin Snow, the eleventh child, was a well known merchant of Fitchburg, who died in 1869. His living descendants here are Albert B. Haskell and his sisters, Mrs. Charles Fosdick and her children. Others are Prof. Frank H. Snow of Lawrence, Kansas, and his family; Mrs. George Wallace of Newtonville, and her family; Nancy Snow Kilburn of Townsend, a great-granddaughter. E. S. Marshall of Lunenburg is a great-grandson. William A. Snow of Leominster is a descendant, and according to Mr. Marshall there are many descendants in Boston.

NEHEMIAH FULLER lived on what is now known as the continuation of South street, or Leominster old road, on the place formerly known as the "Goodhue place," now owned by Joseph Roussell. He held some minor offices in Lunenburg, but I do not find that he held any position of prominence in either town. He married Mary Conant of Lunenburg, May 4, 1756, and had eight children, as follows:

Stephen, born August 19, 1757.	John, born June 3, 1766.
Joseph, born July 22, 1759.	Benjamin, born June 27, 1768.
Nehemiah, born July 23, 1762.	Mary, born July 20, 1770.
Azariah, born May 28, 1764.	Hannah, born July 15, 1774.

Miss Elizabeth Abercrombie of Brookline, Mass., has kindly sent me the following sketch of her great-great-grandfather.

Nehemiah Fuller was the son of Joseph and Abigail (Putnam) Fuller. On his father's side he was a descendant of Thomas Fuller, who came to this country from England in 1638 and settled in Woburn* and in Salem Village, now called Middleton, Mass. On his mother's side he was a descendant of John Putnam, the emigrant to America. Nehemiah was born in Middleton, Mass., January 26, 1733, but his father soon after moved to Lunenburg, about 1736.

*See Sewall's History of Woburn.

He married in Lunenburg, "May y^e^ 4th 1756," Mary Conant.* They lived in that part of Lunenburg which was afterwards included in Fitchburg. January 2, 1768, the church of Christ of Lunenburg "voted to Dismiss and Recommend the following persons" (then follows a list of twenty-two persons, among them Nehemiah Fuller,) "as suitable Persons to embody a chh state of Fitchburg, where a chh is soon to be gathered and of which Place they are inhabitants." He seems to have been less active in public affairs than his elder brother, Capt. John Fuller, as his name seldom appears in the history of the town. He or his son Nehemiah served in the Revolutionary war in 1779. His wife died April 23, 1799, and with her son John is buried in the old cemetery on South street. Nehemiah married again, as this record is found in South street cemetery: "Mrs. Hannah Fuller, second wife of Nehemiah, departed this Life 26 Nov. 1802." I have been unable to find any record of his death or place of burial; but his will was filed for probate February 5, 1807, as that of Nehemiah Fuller of Fitchburg, so that place was undoubtedly his place of residence till his death. He left five sons and two daughters, all of whom married,—Stephen, Joseph, Nehemiah, Azariah, Benjamin; Mary, who became Mrs. Simon Davis, and Hannah, who was Mrs. Ford. Stephen's name is in the list of persons who served in the Continental army from Fitchburg. He lived in Fitchburg in 1781, but evidently left soon after that. He died in Lee, Mass., July 29, 1834. Of his descendants are John H. Fuller, Earlville, Iowa; John A. Fuller, Contoocook, N. H.; Hiram K. Fuller, Monticello, Iowa; James Watson Fuller, Pittsfield, Mass.

Joseph served in the Revolutionary war. He married and lived in Fitchburg, but died in Worcester, October

*The history of the Conant family is interestingly given in the latest history of Westminster.

20, 1837. The latest date that I have of him in Fitchburg is in 1834, when he still resided there. He has few descendants; none of the name of Fuller.

Nehemiah I have been unable to trace. In 1797 his name appears on a record of town meeting.

Azariah was also a soldier of the Revolution, though very young. He was one of the old soldiers who were present at the dedication of the monument at Bunker Hill. He was the last of the family bearing the name of Fuller to live in Fitchburg. He did not live there from 1786 to 1799, but returned in 1800, and lived there till 1841. He died in Hingham, Mass., March 12, 1846. George Fuller, the artist, was a grandson. Of his descendants, Frank B. Fuller resides in Bridgeport, Ct., Charles L. Fuller, Troy, N. Y., Azariah Bemis Fuller, Decatur, Neb., G. Spencer Fuller, Deerfield.

Benjamin married and lived in Fitchburg till 1831. He died in Ashburnham February 7, 1838. His daughter Mary married Levi Pratt, and their daughter, Mrs. A. H. Andrews, and her children are descendants of Nehemiah, now living in Fitchburg; also Andrew Pratt in Fitchburg, and his brother in Leominster.

Mrs. Kendall Goff of Jaffrey writes me that she is the great-granddaughter of Nehemiah Fuller.

Ebenezer Bridge was the son of John Bridge of Lexington, and settled in Lunenburg in 1763, and lived on the road now known as the Richardson road, on the place now owned by A. E. Ormsby, and his house is still standing. In the early years of the town he held the office of constable, selectman and various minor positions, and was one of the highest tax payers. He it was who in 1775 was chosen captain of the "minute men" and marched with his company on April 19, 1775, on the occasion of the Concord fight, reaching Concord the same

evening. This story has been often told, and we have commemorated the event by the erection of a tablet on Laurel street, near the Cushing mill. He was in the army most of the time during the Revolution, and was in command of a regiment at the capture of Burgoyne's army. Our secretary has also given us a record of his life, and I will only repeat here that he married Mehitable Wood in Lunenburg November 3, 1763, and had eleven children, as follows, all born in Fitchburg:

Sarah, born August 22, 1764.
Ebenezer, born June 5, 1766.
Mehitable, born August 3, 1768.
Bezeleel, born December 17, 1770.
Betty, born 1773.
John, born November 13, 1775.
Elizabeth, born 1777.
Jonathan, born February 2, 1778.
James, born March 20, 1781.
William, born May 24, 1783.
Jonathan, born May 23, 1787.

He died in Hartland, Vt., February 13, 1823.

Francis Fullam was born in Weston, Mass., March 20, 1717, and was the son of Jacob Fullam, one of the original proprietors of Lunenburg. He married Susanna Hammond, December 4, 1740. They had two children, Timothy, born December, 1741, and Francis, born October 15, 1746. His father, Jacob, was killed in "Lovewell's fight" at Fryeburg, May 8, 1725. He was a sergeant in Capt. Lovewell's company, and there are peculiar circumstances connected with his death. During the fight, he and an Indian conspicuous for his dress attracted each other's attention, and drew upon each other at the same instant, both falling, mortally wounded.

Francis Fullam lived on the west side of Oak Hill, on the farm now owned and occupied by his great-grandson, Francis L. Fullam; and it is worthy of note that this is the only instance among the whole number of original settlers where the homestead has remained in the family from the date of incorporation of the town until the present time. Mr. Fullam was not prominent in town

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affairs, though he held some small offices at different times; but he performed military service in the Revolution, having enlisted for one year's service on June 1, 1778. Besides Francis L., who lives on the old homestead, there is another great-grandson, George Fullam, now in the Soldiers' Home in Maine. I know of no other descendants.

EPHRAIM OSBORN lived on what is now Franklin road, on the north side, and nearly opposite to Silas Snow, already alluded to, and on the place now owned by Thomas Farnsworth. He married, November 26, 1759, Sarah Fisk of Lunenburg, and they had children, as follows:

John, born in Lunenburg, August 25, 1760.
Ephraim, born in Lunenburg, September 5, 1763.
Abraham, born in Fitchburg.
Jacob, born in Fitchburg, January 25, 1766.
Sarah, born in Fitchburg, April 14, 1768.
Sally, born in Fitchburg, May 18, 1776.
Bessie, born in Fitchburg, March 9, 1779.

He held no civil offices, but he was a member of Capt. Bridge's company, which, on the 19th of April, marched to Concord. He also enlisted for further service; but his health failing he was obliged to return home, but sent his son Ephraim, aged fourteen, to take his place. Among his descendants are Franklin Osborn of this city, Ephraim P. Osborn of Leominster, and Alvin W. Osborn of Lancaster, S. C., all great-grandsons. He died March 12, 1779, aged forty-seven years, and is buried in the old South street cemetery.

HEZEKIAH HODGKINS lived on Franklin road (so called now), on what, until recently, was known as the Benjamin Whitney place, now owned by Maj. T. H. Shea. He appears to have been a highway surveyor in 1767, and

to have held other minor offices at different times. His children were Hezekiah, Jr., Tabitha, John, Molly, Betty, John, David, and perhaps others.

JAMES LITCH was the second son of James and Janet Litch. They were natives of Scotland, but came to Lunenburg from Westfield in 1732. They lived on the Williams road, on the place now owned by Edwin S. Burnap. He appears to have commanded the confidence of his fellow citizens of Lunenburg,—held the office of constable in 1752,—and was honored with other small offices there; but I find no record of public service in Fitchburg. I do not find that he has any descendants living here, but his brother Thomas was great-grandfather of Charles Litch, one of our older citizens. The Litch homestead was in later years a tavern, kept by Phinehas Sawyer, and from 1792 to 1802 by his widow; then by Daniel Putnam, who married their daughter. Our venerable friend, Daniel Putnam, now living at Lunenburg at the age of ninety-five, is his son, and was born on this farm.

ABRAHAM SMITH lived on the Ashburnham Hill road, now so called, on the farm now occupied by T. Benton Works. Mr. Smith married Lucie Allen of Weston, July 26, 1763. No record of children, and no descendants are known here. It does not appear from the records that he was called upon to serve his fellow citizens in any public capacity, either in Lunenburg or Fitchburg. In that respect he was an exception to the general rule, for most of these men seem to have at some time held office. To be sure they had a long list to fill at each annual meeting, and almost offices enough to "go round" to all. Besides the selectmen, who were also assessors, they had wardens, tything-men, highway surveyors, deer-reeves, hog-reeves, firemen, surveyors of shingles and clapboards, of

hoops and staves, sealer of leather, fence viewers, surveyor of wheat, and indeed all the paraphernalia of towns of larger and older growth.

EDWARD SCOTT was born May 21, 1734, and was son of John and Lydia Scott. He lived on what we know as the Scott road, about sixty rods up the hill going from the Rindge road, on the left hand side. I think the cellar of this house is still visible. I find no record of his marriage, but by the records of births he appears to have been twice married, and had eleven children, all born in Fitchburg:

Elizabeth, born April 23, 1765.
Sarah, born January 12, 1767.
John, born October 12, 1768.
Edward, born June 8, 1770.
Lydia, born 1773.
Joanna, born December 8, 1774.
Jane, born January 15, 1777.
Joseph, born September 21, 1779.
Benjamin, born November 22, 1782.
Mary, born August 17, 1785.
Lydia, born April 21, 1788.

His first wife, Elizabeth, and two children are buried in the South street cemetery, but I find no record of his death. He held some minor offices in Lunenburg. His descendants living here are great-grandchildren, as follows: Mrs. Martha Kimball, Miss Mary E. Hartwell, Mr. Frank Scott. Other descendants in another line are Mrs. Martha Shattuck, Mrs. Emeline Whittemore.

EZRA WHITNEY lived on the road now called Fisher road, opposite the estate of Dr. Fisher, on the place now owned by H. M. Putnam. The house is still standing. He presumably was a man in whom his fellow citizens had confidence, for he is recorded as holding various minor offices in both Lunenburg and Fitchburg. I have no record of his marriage, but he had children, as follows:

Ezra, born in Lunenburg, November 29, 1760.
Rebecca, born in Lunenburg, January 2, 1762.

I find no descendants living here now.

WILLIAM CHADWICK, born in Watertown, January 18, 1720, was a son of Benjamin and Hannah (Welch) Chadwick. He lived on the south side of the so-called Fisher road, on an original lot owned by his uncle Ebenezer of Acton, probably the place now owned by I. O. Bascom. He, too, was a man honored by various minor town offices, both in Lunenburg and Fitchburg. It is recorded "that two schools were established in 1765, the next year after incorporation, and that one of them was kept in William Chadwick's corn barn;" and "that the master boarded in the several families of the district, which bore the burden or the honor of his presence for a stated number of weeks in rotation, and that the people furnished fuel gratuitously."

As Mr. Chadwick had six children of his own, and his near neighbors, Isaac and Reuben Gibson, had twelve and eight, respectively, a very respectable school might have been gathered from these three families. The munificent sum of three pounds was appropriated for the two schools, and it must be conceded that the requirements of the teachers must have been meagre, beyond their food and lodging. This was the first appropriation Fitchburg ever made for schools. Think of it,—three pounds, in comparison with the $93,037.87 expended in that department last year.

Mr. Chadwick married Eunice Goss of Stow, and had six children, as follows:

Bette, born January 30, 1758.
Eunice, born August 19, 1759.
William, born 1762.
Molly, born 1764.
Sarah, born 1765.
Hittee, born 1767.

I find no descendants here.

NICHOLAS DANFORTH lived somewhere in the pasture opposite J. Edward Putnam's farm, probably on the land now owned by William Proctor. He was one of the men

who were "called and chosen to fill places of responsibility in the new town." He was one of the "minute men" of Capt. Bridge's company, which was close on the heels of the British on the evening of April 19, 1775, and perhaps did service later on. He had two children, Isaac and Hannah, born about 1767. No known descendants.

ISAIAH WITT owned and occupied the farm now owned by J. Edward Putnam. He was on one of the early boards of selectmen (1765) and held various other minor offices. I find no record of marriage, but he had two children,—Persis, born 1755, and Moses, born 1759.

He presumably died previous to November 26, 1767, for Mrs. Witt took another husband on that date.

THOMAS GERRY (or Gary) was the son of Benjamin Gerry of Lunenburg, and lived on the road now known as Prospect street, on the right hand side a little above the Nichols road, and on land now comprised in the Burbank Hospital estate. He also was honored in a small way with town office. He was one of the "minute men" who marched with Capt. Bridge's company for the scene of action. He also served in the siege of Boston in 1775 and 1776, and in 1777 enlisted in the Continental army for three years, and in 1780 again enlisted "for three years or the war." He married Elizabeth Farwell of Townsend, February 21, 1760, and had three children, Benjamin born September 19, 1760, and John and Elizabeth born previous to 1766.

JOSEPH SPAFFORD lived on the road now called Fisher road, at the foot of the hill going east, and about one-half the distance from Pearl Hill school-house to the junction of the Fisher and Marshall roads, and on land now owned by Mrs. Florilla Bascom. His house was constructed with hewn logs and had a stockade about it,

forming one of the five garrisons situated in this western part of Lunenburg. The house in later years was clapboarded, and made a neat cottage. It stood until September 2, 1874, when it was burned. It was last occupied by John Devine. Nothing now remains but a cellar-hole grown up with brush, and a scraggy orchard of apple trees. It was the birthplace of Mayor Rockwell, in 1849, his father then owning the property and residing there.

Mr. Spafford was a man whom it was thought proper to endow with the office of highway surveyor, as well as several other minor offices both in Lunenburg and Fitchburg, and doubtless filled them with ability. He also did military service, having marched with Capt. Woods' company on the 19th of April, 1775. He married Mary Marble of Stow, and had children born as follows:

John, born in Lunenburg, February 19, 1758.
Sarah, born in Lunenburg, June 25, 1761.
Judah, born in Lunenburg, August 25, 1762.
Joseph, born in Fitchburg, April 4, 1770.

EPHRAIM WHITNEY was a son of Moses Whitney of Lunenburg. He lived on what is now Fisher road on the farm at present occupied by Capt. Alonzo Eaton. He was the first town clerk of the new town of Fitchburg, and continued in that office two years. He was also one of the first board of selectmen, and was on the school committee in 1764. He had also been one of the committee chosen to procure the incorporation of the town. He married, January 16, 1745, Jane Bancroft of Lunenburg, and had children born as follows:

Moses, born in Lunenburg, January 11, 1747.
Ephraim, born in Lunenburg, August 12, 1749.
Molly, born in Lunenburg, September 25, 1755.

The family moved to Petersham in 1767, and from there in 1781 to Chesterfield, N. H., where he died at an advanced age.

JOHN WHITE, a lineal descendant of Peregrine White, the first white child born in New England, lived on the Fisher road (now so called) on the place now owned by Nancy H. Bartlett,—recently the Winchester Wyman farm. The present brick house stands quite a distance in front of the original residence, which is remembered by some of the older residents. He was warden and constable of the new town, in 1764, and the first collector of taxes, and had held some minor offices in Lunenburg. In 1766 we find him on a committee to "dignify the pews" in the new meeting house. The exact process of "dignifying the pews" and "seating the house" I have been somewhat troubled to discover, but bearing in mind that in these years the church affairs were managed as a part and parcel of the town business, and that everybody's estate was taxed pro-rata to support public worship, the following extract from the History of Shirley fully explains it. "After a meeting house had been built and supplied with seats a committee was appointed to provide each inhabitant with a permanent place, or as a record has it 'to seat the meeting house.' The largest taxpayers were considered the most honorable, provided they had done nothing of an immoral nature to degrade their standing; and by this rule all the worshippers were arranged throughout the house. The first two front seats on the lower floor were called highest; the front seat in the front gallery was next in order, then the third seat below; afterwards the other seats in rotation; the men occupying places at the right hand of the broad aisle and their wives the same positions on the left hand. As property was ever varying this delicate business of 'seating the church' had to be attended to every year, that the aristocratic rule might not be violated, and this vote was passed on Oct. 24, 1763, 'Voted, that each seat in the meeting house shall go out on the Sabbath Day according to their Dignity.'"

Another writer speaking of this singular custom says, "Strange complications and jealousies and heart burnings and strife grew out of it. Some disliked their seats and staid at home. Some applied to the town for redress or took a seat to their liking, when they were liable to be taken in hand by the tything-man. And so human nature developed its peculiarities and evinced its need of meeting houses and gospel ordinances, even inside those meeting houses and under the direct influence of those ministrations." In this connection I will give an extract from the record of a town meeting held in Lunenburg, April 5, 1736, as follows:

"Voted and Granted all that Room behind ye Seets in ye Front Gallery in ye meeting Houſe in Lunenburg to Jonathan Wood, Samll Reed, Phinehas Osgood, Ezekel Wyman, David Page, Stephen Boynton, John Fitch, Jonathan Abbit, for to Build a Long Pew or Seet for themſelves and wives for Ever. (To Set in) etc. Provided ye Perſons aforenamed Build ye Said Seat within Four months from ye Date of this Grant."

Mr. White married Mary Whitney of Lunenburg, February 22, 1753, and there were born to them children as follows:

Lydia, born in Leominster, March 5, 1755.
Betty, born in Leominster, April 19, 1757.
Salmon, born in Lunenburg, June 5, 1759.
Salmon, born in Lunenburg, April 3, 1761,

Of his descendants now living among us may be mentioned Alpheus P. Kimball, William Kimball and Gen. John White Kimball;—Ephraim Kimball, their ancestor, having married Betty, the daughter of John White.

TIMOTHY BANCROFT was born in Lynn, January 20, 1704 or 1705, and came here in 1745. He lived near the road now called Marshall road, and somewhere on the farm now owned by Alfred Marshall. The exact location of the house is not known, but it was a long distance from

the other residents at that time. He was known as Deacon Timothy Bancroft. He was chosen at different times in Lunenburg as "Hogreive," "Deereeve," and "to take care of fires." I find through all these early years there were chosen annually several men in different parts of the town "to take care of fires." It is presumed that, in the then almost unbroken wilderness, forest fires were sometimes started which required looking after in their incipient stages to prevent widespread disaster and perhaps danger. Mr. Bancroft married in Lynn, March, 1738, Elizabeth Gary, who died January 28, 1756. He married Mrs. Mary Harriman of Lunenburg, November 1, 1757. He had children as follows:

Elizabeth, born in Lynn.
Timothy, born in Lunenburg, January 15, 1743.
Timothy, born in Lunenburg, November 18, 1746.
John, born in Lunenburg, 1752.
John, born in Lunenburg, November 14, 1753.
Timothy, born in Lunenburg, August 14, 1755.
Clark, born at Lunenburg, August 26, 1759.
Molly, born at Lunenburg, June 5, 1761.

Clark Bancroft enlisted in Capt. Fuller's company from Lunenburg, and was in service much of the time during the Revolution. Dea. Bancroft died November 1, 1775, aged 71. His wife, Mary, died February 4, 1776.

This story is told of him. His house was doubtless a rude cabin in the wilderness, where the beasts of the forest roamed at will. One summer day he was seated at dinner with his family, when suddenly a large bear appeared in his doorway, sitting upon his haunches, and smiling as only a bear can smile, looked wistfully in; but, without making any warlike demonstration, soon quietly left. Bancroft soon after moved from the locality, and gave as one of his reasons, that his neighbors were altogether too familiar and too impudent; referring to the visit of this uncouth beast in the midst of his noonday meal.

THOMAS DENARY. But little is known of him. Torrey locates his residence on the old Lunenburg road (now Pearl street), on land now owned by Francis Buttrick, just beyond the brook, and where there was an old tan-yard in later years, which probably belonged to Elijah Garfield, who was a tanner, and who built the house known in later years as the Upton house, and now owned by Mrs. John M. Harris, on the spot where Jesse French formerly lived. The name of Thomas Denary is not in the Lunenburg or Fitchburg records, though a John Denary lived in Lunenburg. No record of the family.

JESSE FRENCH came from Billerica in 1763, and owned and occupied the estate on Pearl street, above referred to as the "Upton place." He was born April 6, 1739. Little is known of him. His name does not appear on the Lunenburg or the Fitchburg records as occupying any official position. He married, April 14, 1761, Abigail Jaquith. The births of eight children are recorded as follows:

Jesse, born at Billerica, October 11, 1762.
Samuel, born at Fitchburg, March 14, 1763.
Thomas, born at Fitchburg, May 8, 1765.
Luther, born at Fitchburg, September 25, 1767.
Abraham, born at Fitchburg, January 22, 1770.
Ebenezer, born at Fitchburg, June 19, 1772.
Abigail, born at Fitchburg, September 11, 1774.
Abigail, born at Fitchburg, June 6, 1777.

Some of his descendants lived here as late as the middle of this century. Edmund, a grandson, (son of Thomas), now holds a position in the office of the Pullman Palace Car Works, Pullman, Ill.; and his brother, Joseph C., is a retired druggist, at Indianapolis, Ind. A grandson of Jesse French,—Josiah B.,—settled in Lowell, where he was a prominent citizen, was president of a bank, manufacturer, railroad manager, and in 1849 and 1850 mayor of the city.

THOMAS DUTTON lived on Pearl street, opposite the head of Myrtle street, on the land lately sold by Andrew Whitney for the Normal School building. He was on the school committee in 1764, and held some small positions under the new town government. He was twice married. The record of his first marriage I do not find, but his second wife was Sarah Fitch of Lunenburg, daughter of John Fitch, and they were married September 9, 1755. By his first wife he had children as follows:

Hannah, born at Lunenburg, January 28, 1744/5.
Sibel, born at Lunenburg, December 9, 1747.
Thomas, born at Lunenburg, March 18, 1749/50.
Elizabeth, born at Lunenburg, December 24, 1752.
Elizabeth, born at Lunenburg, December 18, 175–.

and by the second wife:

Joseph Fitch, born at Lunenburg, June 3, 1757.
Susannah, born at Lunenburg, March 7, 1759.
John, born at Lunenburg, July 9, 1761.

The family moved to Rockingham, Vt., in 1766.

WILLIAM HENDERSON lived on what has been known of late years as the Abel F. Adams place, which at that time was the termination of a bridle path, now a part of Blossom street. Torrey reports him as a half-crazy Irishman, who left Fitchburg soon after its incorporation and went to Colrain, but returned after an absence of ten years, a pauper, and involved Fitchburg and Lunenburg in a law-suit respecting his maintenance, in which Fitchburg was worsted. He was the only black sheep we have found among the "first settlers."

The expense to the town in this case evidently made an impression; for I find among the records at a later date the following:

"We, the undersigned, Selectmen of the town of Fitchburg, having considered the estate and present circumstances of Mr. David Goodell and his family, and also the estate of Daniel Goodell and his family,

and upon deliberate consideration think it proper and prudent for the interest of the town not to admit either of the above families as town inhabitants, and we the subscribers absolutely refuse to admit either of them as inhabitants."

(Signed) THOS. COWDIN, DAVID GOODRIDGE, JOHN WHITE, } *Selectmen of Fitchburg.*

Similar votes are found later. Thus the principle of "restrictive immigration," which we hear so much about in these days, seems to have found practical application in the little town of Fitchburg, one hundred and twenty-five years ago. What became of Mr. Henderson's large family does not appear. He was married to Sarah Locke of Woburn, March 13, 1740, and they had children as follows:

William, born at Lunenburg, January 8. 1744.
Henry, born at Lunenburg, October 22, 1746.
John, born at Lunenburg, January 10, 1748.
Sarah, born at Lunenburg, August 3, 1750.
James, born at Lunenburg, July 23, 1753.
David, born at Lunenburg. August 22, 1757.

No descendants are known here.

SAMUEL HUNT was born in Tewksbury, September 11, 1711, came here in 1749, and lived on the site of the present residence of S. S. Holton, on Pearl street. He built a house on that spot, which stood until about 1847, when it was torn down and the present brick house built by James L. Haynes. Many of the older citizens remember the quaint old structure. In the year 1750 he commenced keeping tavern there. In this tavern the first town meeting of the new town was held, the first public religious services, and the first public school. The site has been marked with a tablet. Mr. Hunt continued to keep tavern here until 1765, when he sold out to Thomas Cowdin and moved to Worcester. He had been very active in the movement resulting in the setting off from Lunenburg of the new town, and was one of the committee of five to

procure the act of incorporation. He was one of the first board of selectmen of Fitchburg. He had also served as selectman and in other offices in Lunenburg. He was evidently one of the most energetic and public-spirited citizens of that day, and it may have fairly been considered a public loss when he moved away. He married Hannah Kimball of Tewksbury, November 13, 1740. They had children, as follows:

Jonathan, born at Lunenburg, July 2, 1750.
Hannah, born at Lunenburg, July 22, 1754.
Martha, born at Lunenburg, April 2, 1757.
Ebenezer, born at Lunenburg, April 18, 1760.
Pearley, born at Lunenburg, November 22, 1762.

He had five other children, born probably at Tewksbury, but I have not the records of their births. No descendants are known to be living here. He moved from Worcester to Heath, Mass., where he died in 1807, at the age of ninety-six.

Timothy Parker was born in Groton, June 5, 1726; a son of Joseph and Abigail Parker. He lived in the old garrison built by David Page (the first settler within the "Turkey Hills" limits), which stood a little to the southwest of the present residence of S. S. Holton, on the other side of Pearl street, and near where Wood street now leaves Pearl street. This was one of the five garrisons (so called) then existing within the limits of Fitchburg. These garrisons were fortified houses. The houses were usually built of logs and then a stockade built entirely around them and ten or twelve feet from them. The stockade was made with heavy posts, pointed at the top, hewn on two sides so as to bring the edges together, planted firmly in the ground and bound together by cross timbers on the inside. Port holes were made on all sides to allow musket firing from within. They thus formed

an adequate means of defense against the predatory bands of Indians, who continued to roam over this part of the country up to nearly the date when Fitchburg was incorporated. When David Page constructed this particular fortress he conducted water into it by an underground drain from a little brook which flowed and still flows there, and felt that he could stand quite a siege. David Page was licensed as an innholder here in 1746 and 1747, about twenty years before the division of the town.

Mr. Parker appears on the records as holding some minor offices in Lunenburg, but none in Fitchburg. He married, September 6, 1748, Johannah Grout, and they had nine children, as follows:

Johannah, born at Lunenburg, September 14, 1749.
Sarah, born at Lunenburg, March 26, 1752.
Elijah, born at Lunenburg, November 18, 1753.
Elijah, born at Lunenburg, February 1, 1756.
Abigail, born at Lunenburg, September 24, 1758.
Joanna, born at Lunenburg, May 20, 1762.
Sibel, born at Fitchburg, September 1, 1764.
Abigail, born at Fitchburg, December 29, 1767.
Elizabeth, born at Fitchburg, 1769.

No descendants are known to reside in Fitchburg.

JOSEPH LOWE, with his wife and two children, came here in the year 1763, from Ipswich, Mass., where his ancestors had lived since 1641. His direct ancestor, John Lowe of Ship "Ambrose," was Rear Admiral in Gov. John Winthrop's fleet, which came to Salem in 1630.

Mr. Lowe bought the farm of William Henderson, an account of whom I have already given. The map gives the residence as William Henderson's, but they were both here in 1764, and may have resided together a short time before Mr. Henderson left. At his death, in 1800, the farm came into the possession of his son Joseph, Jr., who acquired additional land until he owned a tract extending

from Pearl Hill road to our present High street. Mr. John Lowe has several old deeds of these tracts which he would be pleased to show to parties interested. Joseph, senior, had three children—Joseph, Jr., and Abigail, born in Ipswich, and Mary, born in Fitchburg in 1770. He was great-grandfather of John and Seth Lowe, now living here;—and to the best of my knowledge was ancestor of all the Lowes residing here to-day (who are very numerous), and to many others by marriage. His older daughter married John Upton in July, 1783, and he is ancestor to the families of Capt. Joseph Upton, Col. Edwin Upton, John, Thomas and Charles, who have died within a few years. The descendants of Mr. Lowe, even in Fitchburg, would make a long list. Probably no other one of the original settlers has so many representatives among us to-day.

Capt. Jonathan Wood lived on the road now known as Intervale road, nearly opposite the Fitchburg Railroad shops. He owned all the land where the car shops are now built, and a portion of the present Fair Grounds. The house is still standing, but its southerly front has been obstructed by another house built close up to it, but its westerly side is on the road and its ancient architecture is apparent. It is now owned by Scanlon Brothers, and has passed through many hands since Mr. Wood's day. In the old days a portion of the house was used as a watch and jewelry shop, and Mr. Thomas Mack of Boston, who was born in the house, remembers that in his childhood there were "bow windows" in the front of it, where the occupant undoubtedly hung up his watches in the fashion of the shops of those days. Mr. Mack has a little oil painting of the house as it was before it was encumbered by its present uninteresting surroundings. Jonathan Wood appears to have been a prominent

citizen. He was one of the committee to procure the act of incorporation, and had been selectman at Lunenburg and held other offices. He was treasurer of Fitchburg in 1766. He was a soldier of the Revolution, being a private in Capt. Joseph Sargent's company for service in Rhode Island in 1777, the length of service being 67 days. He died December 15, 1804, aged 74 years, and his epitaph in the South street burying ground says of him, "He lived a firm pillar in the cause of Liberty." He had a son, Jonathan, who was also in the service. The only descendant I find living here is Silas W. Davis, son of the late Addison Davis, whose mother, Lydia Wood, was a granddaughter of Jonathan Wood, and daughter of Asa, his youngest son. There may be others. He married Rachel Wood of Uxbridge October 10, 1754. He had nine children, who are recorded as follows:

James, born March 24, 1756.
Esther, born March 19, 1758.
Jonathan, born March 25, 1760.
George, born June 3, 1762.
Rachel, born September 1, 1764.
Chloe, born October 8, 1766.
Tamar, baptized May 4, 1769.
Ahimaaz, born May 9, 1771.
Asa, born April 11, 1775.

NATHANIEL WALKER is said to have lived, in 1764, on what is now the Albee farm. There was no road to his place, but a bridle path left South street, where Walnut street now runs, winding round the hill on the present Water street location, and running up the hill from a point somewhere near the soap factory. He was also able to get out to Wanoosnoc road by going through his neighbor Steward's land. I find no record of his family, but learn from Mr. A. P. Goodridge that his daughter married a great-uncle of Mr. Goodridge, Asaph, who owned the farm later which afterwards passed through the hands of Joseph Fox, Oliver Fox, C. Marshall and Walter Heywood, to Mr. L. C. Albee.

DEACON DAVID GOODRIDGE (spelt "ridge") lived on the Bemis road, on the place now owned by William Baldwin. The house now standing, or a portion of it, at least, according to Mr. A. P. Goodridge, is the one occupied by him, and the old elms, also still standing there, undoubtedly gave shade to himself and family. He is the ancestor of our esteemed and venerable member, Alonzo P. Goodridge, Edwin A., Henry A., and George E. Goodrich; and although they do not all of them spell their names correctly, they are all willing to trace their ancestry to one who was prominent in the affairs of Lunenburg and Fitchburg in the early days. Mr. Goodridge held various positions of responsibility in Lunenburg before the division, and in Fitchburg he was one of the first board of selectmen, and was moderator of town meetings for several years. In the troublesome times preceding the Revolution he was conspicuous. He had been a lieutenant in the French and Indian war. In 1774 he was chosen a delegate from Fitchburg to the Provincial Congress, which met at Concord the second Tuesday of October, 1774, of which John Hancock was president, and which drew up a plan for the immediate defense of the Province. They resolved "that at least one-fourth part of the militia should be enrolled as 'minute men,' to be prepared to march at a minute's warning on any emergency arising." The members of the congress were supported, and their services paid for, by the towns; and here it was voted that "if there should be any surplus after paying the delegate, it should be appropriated for the purchase of powder." Later, in October, 1774, they balanced up the account and found they had £14, 4s. left, which was promptly invested in "powder, lead and flints," and forty men were enlisted as "minute men." Six months later these men marched, as we well know.

A writer of American history, in speaking of the action of these little Massachusetts towns at this period, says, "There is something of real pathos in such protests from the government of little country towns, which, but for the result, would seem ridiculous. That in 'town-meeting' a town which had not fifty voters should vote money to buy powder and flints with which to make war against a king who, within fifteen years, had humbled the French monarchy, seemed absurd. But the history is full of such declarations."*

Again, on the 10th of January, 1775, Mr. Goodridge was chosen to the Provincial Congress, which was to meet in Cambridge the following month.

Dea. Goodridge had rather an exciting experience with the Indians, which may bear repeating here, and I shall give it substantially as related in Torrey's History. One day, said to be the 4th of July, 1748, the day before the attack on John Fitch's garrison, he started out on horseback to hunt up a cow which had not come in the night before. "He was on the hill, near the place where S. Ward Harris now lives [No. 175 South street], when the Indians suddenly started up in the path, a few paces in front of him, and commanded him to surrender. He immediately turned his horse in order to retreat, when lo! another Indian, completely armed, faced him there to cut him off in that direction. He then made a circuit, aiming to come down the hill towards Kimball's mills. The savage ran in a direct line to cut him off in this direction also. It was a fair race, but the horseman gained upon the footman, and as Goodridge passed in front, the Indian, perceiving that it was in vain to think of taking him alive, fired; but fortunately, owing to the rapidity of Goodridge's motion, or some other cause, missed his mark. The leaps of the horse down the steep part of the hill

*Bryant's History of the United States, Volume 3, page 382.

were afterwards measured, and found to be *eighteen feet in length.* In his flight Goodridge lost his hat, and the Indians secured it as a trophy. It is not a little remarkable that, about ten years later, in the succeeding war, an Indian was taken somewhere on the Connecticut river, having on his head the identical hat of Deacon David Goodridge, not much the worse for wear." The length of those leaps of the horse and the *wearing quality* of that hat have always been a source of wonder to me, but in Indian "romances," as in "fish stories," some latitude is allowable. On his getting clear of the Indians, Goodridge betook himself to Page's garrison, and an alarm was forthwith fired. In a short time men poured in from Lunenburg, and even from Groton. It is worthy of notice that in two hours after the alarm was given, Major Willard, with a company of cavalry, arrived at the garrison from Lancaster.

Mr. Goodridge married, March 19, 1740, Elizabeth Martin of Ipswich, Mass., and they had ten children, as follows:

David, born at Lunenburg, March 19, 1741/2.
Elizabeth, born at Lunenburg, November 6, 1743.
Mehetabel, born at Lunenburg, August 6, 1745.
David, born at Lunenburg, April 23, 1747.
Ebenezer, born at Lunenburg, May 1, 1749.
Aseph, born at Lunenburg, June 28, 1751.
Hannah, born at Lunenburg, April 7, 1753.
John, born at Lunenburg, March 17, 1755.
Eunice, born at Lunenburg, August 6, 1757.
Jonas, baptized November 30, 1767.

David Goodridge, later on (1767), opened his house for a tavern, and we find him licensed for the purpose until 1776. He died January 19, 1786, aged 70 years.

Samuel Hodgkins lived on what is now Laurel street, and probably somewhere between Choate's block and Cushing's block. He was employed by the Kimballs as

"tender" at their mill, and built for himself, near by, a small cabin, and this is said to be the first dwelling house built near the river. His nearest neighbors were Samuel Walker, on the Samuel Burnap place, now No. 51 South street, and Samuel Hunt, on the S. S. Holton place, Pearl street. He married, August 8, 1757, Rebecca Rice of Lunenburg. They had four children—Samuel, 1759, and John, Sally and Rebecca, the dates of whose births are not recorded.

SAMUEL WALKER, according to Torrey, lived on the place now owned by Mrs. Samuel Burnap, on South street, No. 51. I have been unable to find any record of public service, either in Lunenburg or Fitchburg. He was taxed here in 1764, and subsequently. The birth of one daughter is recorded—Lydia, born in January, 1765.

JONATHAN HOLT was the son of Humphrey and Abigail Holt of Andover, born 1727, and married February 25, 1752, Rachel Taylor of Andover. Soon after their marriage they came to Lunenburg. His wife died April 21, 1753, leaving one child. His second marriage was with Susanna Holt of Andover, November 14, 1753. She died July 11, 1801, leaving eight children. He married his third wife, Mrs. Azubah Searle of Townsend, January 3, 1802, she being forty years his junior. By her he had two children, he being 78 years of age when the youngest was born, and there being 52 years difference between the ages of the oldest and youngest children. He died March 17, 1805, aged 78. He is buried in the Lunenburg south yard. The dates of birth of his children were as follows:

Rachel, born April 20, 1753.
Jonathan, born May 16, 1756.
Susanna, born May 29, 1758.
Elijah, born October 23, 1759.
William, born March 11, 1761.
James, born May 2, 1764.
Abigail, born May 2, 1766.
Rhoda, born February 23, 1768.
Amasa, born October 7, 1769.
Roxanna, born July 10, 1802.
Ira, born March 21, 1805.

His home was on what is now Pearl street, almost down to the Lunenburg line, on the right hand side, on land now owned by Mrs. Sarah Kaulback, and opposite her residence. The cellar walls are still plainly visible. I find him holding the office of surveyor of lumber in Lunenburg, and minor offices in Fitchburg. He was one of the company of "minute men" who marched with Capt. Bridge, April 19, 1775. He enlisted for eight months, during the siege of Boston, and again for nine months in 1779; also, a short time the same year in Rhode Island, and in 1780 marched with the six months men "to reinforce the Continental army."

Isaac Gibson lived on Pearl hill, on the farm now owned by Edward Fletcher, and maintained one of the five garrisons or fortified houses, where he also kept a tavern from 1760 to 1776. This garrison occupied the same site as the present house of Mr. Fletcher. He was the son of Timothy Gibson of Sudbury, afterwards of Stow, who was one of the original proprietors of Lunenburg. He married Keziah Johnson of Lunenburg, February 4, 1745. He lived here until 1790, when he moved to Grafton, Vt.,* where he died June 1, 1797, aged 77. His children were twelve, as follows:

Isaac, born at Lunenburg, November 28, 1745.
John, born at Lunenburg, July 25, 1747.

*In the old church records of Fitchburg there is an entry under date of October 16, 1791, as follows: "At the request of Isaac Gibson the church voted to give him a dismission from his special relation to this church, and a recommendation to the church of Christ in Thombleston." Signed "J. Payson, Clerk." Thombleston was intended here for *Thomlinson*, the name of Grafton from the time it was first granted in 1754 until October 31, 1792, when it was changed to Grafton. It is not surprising that the people there wanted the name changed, but the selection of a new name was settled in a novel manner. The privilege of choosing it was put up at auction and bid off for $5 by one Joseph Axtell, who chose Grafton, the name of his birthplace in Massachusetts.

Abraham, born at Lunenburg, June 13, 1749.
Jacob, born at Lunenburg, March 6, 1751.
Nathaniel, born at Lunenburg, February 22, 1753.
Jonathan, born at Lunenburg, December 22, 1754.
David, born at Lunenburg, January 22, 1757.
Solomon, born at Lunenburg, November 19, 1758.
Abraham, born at Lunenburg, June 13, 1760.
Keziah, born at Lunenburg, February 10, 1762.
Rebecca, born at Lunenburg, 1764.
Anne, by second wife.

Isaac Gibson was one of the most prominent men of the town. He held many minor offices in Lunenburg. In Fitchburg he was on the board of selectmen, and from time to time held other offices. He appears to have been a man of fair education for those days, and in the stirring times preceding the Revolution his services were in demand on important occasions. In November, 1773, a letter was received from the selectmen of Boston, requesting the inhabitants "to pass such resolves concerning their rights and privileges as free members of society as they were willing to die in maintaining," and to send them in the form of a report to the "committee of correspondence" in Boston. On the first day of December, 1773, the town appointed Isaac Gibson, Reuben Gibson, Phinehas Hartwell, Ebenezer Woods, Ebenezer Bridge and Kendall Boutelle as "a committee to consider of our constitutional rights and privileges, in common with other towns in this Province, together with the many flagrant infringements that have been made thereon, and to report at an adjournment, December 15th."

It is not certain that Isaac Gibson wrote the report which followed. He was chairman of the committee, and I do not know that any one of the six was any better fitted to write it. We will call it Gibson's. It is so filled with patriotism and stern resolve that it is well worth reproducing in this paper. It is as follows:

"Having with great satisfaction perused the circular letters from the committee of correspondence for the town of Boston, wherein are so clearly held forth our rights and privileges as Englishmen and Christians, and also a list of the many infringements that have been made thereon, which letters of correspondence we highly approve of and unanimously consent unto, and resolve to stand fast in the liberty and rights wherewith our Gracious Sovereign Kings have made us free by an undeniable Charter and Decree from them, their heirs and successors forever;—and we are fully persuaded that liberty is a most precious gift of God, our Creator, to all mankind, and is of such a nature that no person or community can justly part with it, and consequently that no men, or number of men, can have a right to exercise despotism or tyranny over their fellow creatures;—and, to save us from such extreme wretchedness, we believe the vigilance and combined endeavors of this people are necessary—and we hope, through the favor of Divine Providence, will be effectual. And we think it our indispensable duty as men, as Englishmen and Christians, to make the most public declaration in our power on the side of liberty. We have indeed an ambition to be known to the world and to posterity as friends to liberty—and we desire to use all proper means in our contracted sphere to promote it; and we are necessitated to view the enemies of liberty as enemies of our lawful sovereign, King George, and his illustrious family;—because tyranny and slavery are fundamentally repugnant to the British Constitution. But in declaring our present thoughts and resolutions, we are moved by a principle of humanity and benevolence to the people of Britain, whose happiness is so involved with ours that the oppressors and depredations indued on us by tyrannical governments must be essentially detrimental to them. We therefore earnestly supplicate the Deity to preserve them from political lethargy, and so from the most shameful and miserable bondage. And we are fond of having our little obscure names associated with our American brethren as instruments in the hands of God, to save Britain from that complete destruction which is now meditating and visibly impending. We wish, therefore, our countrymen to join with us in praying for a spirit of reformation on the inhabitants, both of England and America, because righteousness is the exaltation and glory of any society. And we humbly hope that our being so late in giving our sentiments upon affairs so deeply interesting to the American Colonies in general, and to this Province in particular, will not be imputed to our being unaffected with the alarming and unconstitutional incroachments that have been made upon our civil rights and privileges,—for we assure you we will not be wanting at all times, according to our

small ability, in procuring and promoting all lawful and constitutional measures proper for the continuance of all our rights and privileges, both civil and religious. And we think it our duty on this occasion, in behalf of ourselves and our dear country, to express our unfeigned gratitude to the respectable gentlemen of the Town of Boston, for the light and counsel that they have presented to us in their circular letters, and their many generous efforts in the defense of our privileges, and in the cause of liberty,—and in our earnest prayers to Almighty God, that they may be animated still to proceed and prosper in such a noble and generous design, and finally may they receive the most ample and durable reward:—And that these resolves be recorded in our town book of records, and that the town Clerk give an attested copy to the said committee to be communicated to the committee of correspondence for the town of Boston. And with respect to the East India Tea—forasmuch as we are now informed that the town of Boston and the neighboring towns have made such noble opposition to said Tea's being brought into Boston, subject to a duty so directly tending to the enslaving of America—it is our opinion that your opposition is just and equitable; and the people of this town are ready to afford all the assistance in their power to keep off all such infringements."

He was ready to back up his opinion with personal service, and we find him in Capt. Woods' company when it marched on the nineteenth of April, following Capt. Bridge's company, which left earlier in the day.

Again in May, 1774, after the towns of Lunenburg and Fitchburg had chosen, jointly, Dr. John Taylor representative to the Great and General Court, a committee, consisting of Isaac Gibson, Phinehas Hartwell and three gentlemen of Lunenburg, not named, was appointed to draft instructions by which the said representative should be governed in the House of Representatives, and the following address, which we must again credit to Isaac Gibson, was produced:

"Dr. John Taylor—*Sir:* As you are chosen by the towns of Lunenburg and Fitchburg to represent them in the Great and General Court for the present year, we think it our duty, under the present alarming circumstances of public affairs, to give you the following instructions, viz:—That you bear testimony against all riotous practices, and all

other unconstitutional proceedings, and that you do not, by any means whatsoever, either directly or indirectly give up any of our charter rights and privileges, and that you use your endeavors that those that we have been abridged of, may be restored to us, and that you use your influence that provision be made for the discountenancing all unwarrantable practices with respect to bribery in those that set themselves up as candidates for representatives for the people, either by the way of treats or entertainments, which may have been too frequent a practice in many places,—and further, we would have you move in the General Assembly that there might be a Congress and union with all the Provinces, and in case anything extraordinary should happen or appear, that you should immediately notify your constituents. There are many things of lesser importance that we must leave discretionary with yourself, trusting that you will often revolve in your mind how great a trust is devolved upon you, and that you will give constant attendance, so far as you are able, to the business to which you are appointed;—and we hope that you will be actuated by a spirit of impartiality, free from private views and sinister ends."

Thus they took their stand—a stand which they were willing to back up with their lives, and we find during the eight years of war that succeeded some 150 or more able-bodied men from this little town in the ranks of the army for longer or shorter terms.

Mr. Gibson was certainly of robust character, as he was physically robust. He and his brother Reuben both prided themselves on their great strength and personal prowess. Isaac was the hero of "the bear story." It seems to be something more than a tradition in the Gibson family, for the descendants still point out the locality of the scene, which was on a steep portion of the hill, directly up from the site of his old house, the present residence of Edward Fletcher. The story goes that Gibson was rambling on the hill when he happened upon a young bear cub, which he captured. The mother bear, not far away, was soon upon him. Gibson was obliged to drop the cub and defend himself as best he could without weapons. The contest resulted in a close hug of the

two, in which he was able to throw the bear to the ground, when, without relinquishing the grip, the man and beast rolled over and over to the foot of the steep declivity. The surprise of the bear was so great that she let go her hold and made off to the woods, while Gibson was able to recover the cub and carry it home at the cost of many bruises and nearly all of his clothes.

What became of Mr. Gibson's very large family, I know not. One son, John, was killed at Bunker Hill; three others served in the army at different periods. His son David learned the baker's trade, established a bakery on the spot now occupied by Mrs. E. Torrey's residence, opposite city hall, and built a dwelling house on the site of the city hall; but he, also, moved to Vermont at the time his father went. The only descendants of Isaac Gibson, whom I can find living among us to-day, are Mrs. Granville Avery, living on Dean hill, and Mrs. Edward H. Reed and children; but there are probably some others.

Capt. Reuben Gibson, a son of Timothy Gibson of Sudbury (and Stow), lived on Pearl hill, on what has until quite recently been known as the Arrington Gibson place, near the junction of Pearl Hill road and High Rock branch road. The place is now owned by Mr. Eben Blood. The old house was standing until quite recently, when it perished from extreme age.

Reuben, like his brother Isaac, was quite prominent in town affairs, and held office in Lunenburg before the separation. In Fitchburg, he was on the first board of selectmen and on the school committee in 1766, and held other minor offices. In March, 1776, we find him chairman of a committee of correspondence chosen "by order of the General Court." The next town-meeting was held July 1, three days only before the declaration of independence, to act upon a request of the General Court, that

the town should express itself upon the question of the independence of the colonies, and it was then voted, "that if the Honorable Continental Congress should for the safety of these United Colonies declare them independent of Great Britain, that we, the inhabitants of the town of Fitchburg will, with our lives and fortunes, support them in the measure." It is highly probable that Reuben Gibson, as chairman of the committee of correspondence, drafted the above vote, which has the ring of the declaration itself; and it is certain that he was ready at the first call to offer his life, for we find him in the ranks of Capt. Woods' company on the nineteenth of April, off for the front, along with his brother Isaac; and it should be recorded that each of them had four sons in the army at a later period. Mr. Gibson married Lois Smith of Sudbury, November 13, 1746. They had eight children:

Lois, born August 15, 1747.
Reuben, Jr., born September 21, 1748.
Abraham, born August 15, 1752.
Thomas, born November 19, 1753.
Arrington, born August 14, 1756.
Bezeleel, born 1761.
Israel, born December 6, 1763.
Samuel, born April 4, 1766.

Mr. Gibson died July 27, 1800, aged 76 years; his widow, Lois, died in 1815; and both lie buried in the South street cemetery. Samuel, the youngest son, remained here and was a prominent man;—representative in 1805, 1806, 1807, 1812.

Our present mayor, Hon. Henry F. Rockwell, is a great-grandson of Reuben Gibson, and the following are among the other living descendants here. The eldest is Mrs. Isaac D. Wiswell, a granddaughter. Others are Mrs. Dolly Marble, Mrs. Joseph A. Tufts, Mrs. Sidney Sibley, Mrs. Herbert L. Chase, Artemas Gibson, the Whiting Gibson family, and Henry and Abbie Whittemore. The late Mrs. Winchester Wyman and her children are descendants, and there are probably others.

BENJAMIN FOSTER, although not a resident of the portion of Lunenburg set off, seems to claim notice in this connection, for he appears to have been much interested in having the town divided. He headed the petition to the town for the setting off of the western portion in March, 1763, and in January, 1764, headed another petition for the same object. The following sketch, furnished me by our secretary, may be interesting. Benjamin Foster came to Lunenburg about 1728, and settled in the south part of the town. He was a deacon in the church, a selectman in 1748, 1760 and 1761, and was on the school committee in 1764 and 1765. He had twelve children. Deacon Foster moved to Walpole, N. H., in 1786, where he died in 1804. He is said to have been noted for the excellence of his prayers, and sometimes he tried his hand at poetry; but he was a better deacon than poet, if we may judge by the lines he addressed to a lady whose parents had been distinguished for their worth,—from which the following is a quotation:

> "Recount the noble actions of your blood,
> And what in them thou see'st great and good
> Let be your pattern—that the world may see
> Mother and grandmother shine in thee;—
> For two *piouser* women I never see."

JOHN BUSS, senior, (exact residence not located) was an old resident of Lunenburg, where he was selectman and held other offices. He resided here in 1764, and remained here to the time of his death, April 6, 1775.

JOHN BUSS, junior, (exact residence not located) son of John and Eunice Buss, was born in Lancaster. He married, January 1, 1767, Mary Wood, daughter of Lieut. David Wood of Lunenburg. John was a sergeant in Capt. Bridge's company of minute men in 1775, and

served later in the Revolution on the quota of Fitchburg. After the return from the war he became prominent in affairs in Fitchburg, holding various civil offices and a deaconship in the church. He had a son, Zephaniah, born in 1767, and daughter, Prudence, who married Amasa Jones, and resided in Leominster.

WILLIAM FLAGG, the last to be spoken of, was born in Waltham, July 12, 1739, and married there, October 26, 1758, Lydia Child. He came to Lunenburg in 1760. He lived in the extreme northwest part of the town, in what is now Ashby, near "Secretary meadow," probably near John Fitch. He had eleven children, all except the first being born after their coming to Lunenburg, and all of whom lived to adult age and were married: Betsey, born in Waltham, 1759; Solomon, 1761; Mary, Lydia, Susan, Sarah, Nancy, Daniel, Rhoda, William and Isaac. William Flagg had seventy-nine grandchildren.

Here in their scattered, humble dwellings, generally situated on the slopes of the hills, lived the fathers of this town. The contour of the territory we are all familiar with; but the roads, few and far between, we can have no idea of. It is probable that they were little better than the ordinary cart path which we find running through some of our woods to-day. But traveling, when not on foot, was ordinarily on horseback, the women mounted on pillions behind the men. A writer of Massachusetts history of this period says: "In 1753 there were no pleasure carriages in Worcester or Barnstable counties, but one reported in Bristol, forty-seven in Essex, fifty in Middlesex, and about two hundred in Suffolk. The farmers' wagons were rude structures, hung on thorough-braces or bedded on the axles; and from the roughness of the roads, filled with stumps in many cases, riding was

far from voluptuously easy, and a trip of a few miles was a sure cure for the dyspepsia."*

I expect that neighborhood visiting was more in vogue than at present, and the "neighborhood" comprised the whole town. Especially in winter, when the farmers have so much leisure, it was very common, after the "chores" were done in the morning, for one to mount his horse and trot off to make a day of it with some neighbor two to four miles away. No doubt good Deacon Kendall Boutelle, who lived at the south end of the town, was often wont to take his way to Isaac Gibson's, on Pearl hill, three or four miles distant, there perhaps meeting Reuben Gibson, William Chadwick and the Whitneys, nearer neighbors, and perhaps John Fitch, from his home three and a half miles further north, and there, amid the good cheer that Gibson's inn afforded, to discuss the questions that were agitating the town or the country. Or again, on Sunday morning, perhaps a larger number might be found gathered at Samuel Hunt's tavern, between the services of the little First Church, which stood at the present corner of Crescent and Blossom streets, discussing the solemn truths which the Rev. Mr. Payson had been instilling into their minds during the forenoon, and perhaps *fortifying* themselves for the second dose which must inevitably be administered to them in the afternoon. They were without doubt a social, hospitable people, given to much visiting and the simple enjoyments of a small hamlet. They undoubtedly lived in a very primitive style, for their wants were simple. Depending upon their farms almost entirely for their food, and in some cases upon their sheep for the wool from which their homespun clothing was often made, their outside requirements were few. There was very little money

*Barry's History of Massachusetts, Volume 2, page 22.

among them, and "barter" constituted their chief trade, and the interchange of labor served in place of money for that purpose. The luxuries which with us have become absolute necessities, they knew nothing of. The ordinary concerns of the outside world did not disturb them. They had no newspapers and were spared the worriment which nowadays often comes to the sober-minded citizen as he reads the morning news. Who shall say that this peaceful community did not, on the whole, extract as much real comfort and happiness out of their daily lives as comes to us in the somewhat artificial life we lead.

> "Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife,
> Their sober wishes never learned to stray;
> Along the cool sequestered vale of life
> They kept the noiseless tenor of their way."

Here ends our sketches of the pioneers of Fitchburg. The list, forty-seven in all, only includes those who were living here at the date of its incorporation, February 3, 1764.* As I have proceeded in these researches I have been disappointed to find how small a proportion of these first families have descendants living among us to-day—only fifteen of the forty-seven—but you have noticed as we have gone along how many of them moved to other places, taking their entire families. The migratory habit seemed to pervade the early settlers of this and the neighboring towns at that period. They were ambitious to own large tracts of land, and as new settlements were

*The population at that time has been estimated at about two hundred and fifty persons. This would give an average of about five to each family. The famllies, as a rule, were large. There were five families of six children each, five of seven, six of eight, two of nine, two of ten, five of eleven, three of twelve, a total of two hundred and forty-two children in twenty-eight families. In the forty-seven families I have here recorded, two hundred and eighty-three children were born. We have no official record of the population until the United States census of 1790, when Fitchburg had 1151 inhabitants, Westminster 1176, Leominster 1190, and Lunenburg 1300, Fitchburg being the smallest of the four towns at that date.

opened they saw, or thought they saw, a chance for bettering their condition by taking up new land.

In 1764, and the years immediately succeeding, several men moved into town who soon became prominent in affairs of business and in public matters. Among these was Thomas Cowdin, who came in June, 1764, and who had already achieved a career before coming here, and who made his mark upon this community. His life and services would, I believe, make an interesting paper of itself. There were others of lesser prominence who might be mentioned. But we have confined ourselves here strictly to the original families living in the territory at the time of setting off. They were a sturdy, honest, uncompromising race, whose highest desire was to serve their God and their country in their homely, simple way, and to transmit to their children an unsullied inheritance. They were not without their failings, to be sure. The church records give ample evidence of this, but in those early years we find no records of heinous crimes, such as from time to time appall us in these later days, even in this comparatively moral city. It is well that we should look at these humble beginnings, from which have sprung such splendid results. They wrought well in their day and generation. To them there came (considering their primitive condition) questions as momentous as any that have devolved upon the generations that have succeeded them. We have seen how they met the shock of the Revolution, and their wisdom, their courage, and their patriotism have been an inspiration to all lovers of liberty who have dwelt here since. Rev. Peter Whitney, who wrote the History of Worcester County in 1793, in concluding his little sketch of Fitchburg, then a town of one hundred and sixty-six houses and eleven hundred and fifty-one inhabitants, says: "This is a growing, flourishing place, and the people have

hitherto been peaceable and happy; they are indeed very much so; and if they continue in peace and unity they will still greatly increase in numbers and wealth. They subsist chiefly by husbandry. There are, however, the usual mechanics and a few dealers in European, East and West India goods." Could Mr. Whitney return to-day and view the scene, and hear the record of the one hundred and four years since this was written, he would allow that his prediction has been fully realized. Let us hope that the coming century will continue the record, and at the end thereof Fitchburg will still be found, as she is to-day, one of the most favored cities of the land.

TAVERN DAYS AND THE OLD TAVERNS OF FITCHBURG.

Read at a Meeting of the Society, November 19, 1894.

BY FREDERICK A. CURRIER.

"Four Bs are necessary to make a satisfactory hotel," says a traveler of experience: "good beds, good beef, good bread, and good butter."

Never was an Englishman more at home than when taking his ease in his inn. Even men of fortune, who might in their own mansions have enjoyed every luxury, were in the habit of passing their evenings in the parlor of some neighboring house of public entertainment.

They seemed to think that comfort and freedom could in no other place be enjoyed with equal perfection. This feeling continued, during many generations, to be a national peculiarity. The liberty and jollity of inns long furnished matter to novelists and dramatists. Crabbe, Fielding and Smollett have shown us a vivid picture of the inns of their time. The tavern life of Dr. Johnson is as familiar to us as his rusty wig; and the houses of entertainment he frequented are as famous as the "Devil Tavern" of his dramatic namesake. We know by common fame, as well as from Boswell, of "the Mitre Tavern in Fleet street, where he loved to sit up late." Johnson maintained that "a tavern chair was the throne of human felicity." "There is nothing," he affirmed, "which

has been yet contrived by man, by which so much happiness is produced as a good tavern or inn." And then he repeated, "with great emotion," Shenstone's lines:

"Whoe'er has travell'd life's dull round,
Where'er his stages may have been,
May sigh to think he still has found
The warmest welcome at an inn."

The tavern in the eighteenth century occupied the place of the club of nowadays, with its doors open to all comers. Any stranger might mingle in the general conversation and good cheer of the bar-room, without fear of being considered an intruder. And as the poor Irishman once told Goldsmith, when instructing how to live in London on thirty pounds per year, "By spending two pence at a coffee house, you might be in very good company several hours every day."

The celebrated Rev. Dr. Dwight tells us that in his time "the best old-fashioned New England inns were superior to any modern ones. There was less bustle, less parade, less appearance of doing a great deal to gratify your wishes, than at the reputable modern inns; but much more was actually done, and there was more comfort and enjoyment. In a word, you found in these inns the pleasures of an excellent private house. If you were sick, you were nursed and befriended as in your own family, and your bills were always equitable, calculated on what you ought to pay."

The public hostelry has always played an important part in social and political life, has mirrored the fashions of the times, and has helped to make history. Especially was this true of our early Boston inns, situated at the very center of events, and in the midst of alarms. For Boston was then, at least, the Hub of the colonial universe, and the focus of its patriotism; and the history of its inns and taverns is the history of the whole country

and of its growth. They became a popular rendezvous for the patriotic clubs and societies, who listened to the stirring words of Adams, Otis and Hancock, and mixed blue treason to King George in bowls of steaming punch.

The country inn-keeper of the early days was usually the one having the largest house, and therefore might be supposed to be always ready to take in passing travelers of any degree. No special preparations were made, beyond obtaining the necessary license, and guests were treated as members of the family, and the proprietor was more of a farmer than a landlord. Many were known by a military title, either from actual service or from their connection with the militia company.

The first inns were licensed by the General Court, and carried with them the privilege to draw wine and beer for the public. The landlord was not only held amenable to the laws, but he was also protected by them.

In the early days, the price of almost every commodity of life was regulated by law, and a twelvepence was the legal charge for a meal of victuals, and a penny for a quart mug of beer—the landlord being liable to a fine of ten shillings if a greater charge was made, or the quality of the liquor was not up to a certain standard.

The landlord being forbidden by law to charge more for a meal than a twelvepence, they never charged less. From the Records of the General Court of Massachusetts, Vol. 1, p. 284, 1640, it appears that "Rich^{d} Cluffe, for saying,—'Shall I pay twelve pence for the fragments w^{ch} the grandiury roages have left?' was bound to his good behaviour, and fined three pounds, sixe shillings and eight pence, w^{ch} was discounted by Rob^{t} Saltonstall upon account." It would appear that Cluffe was so unfortunate as to come to dinner after the grand jury, and, finding only fragments altogether unsatisfactory, demurred to the landlord's bill. He might have come off easily if he

had expressed himself circumspectly, for the Puritan did not dislike the spirit which resisted imposition; but to allow the grand jury to be called "roages" was not to be thought of.

In 1645 the Legislature of Massachusetts adopted the following vote:

"It is ordered that no man shall be allowed to keep a public house of entertainment for strangers or travelers, nor shall any one be a common victualer, taverner, innkeeper, or keeper of a cook shop, vintner, or public seller of wines, ale, beer, strong waters, without allowance in some Quarter Court, in the Shire where such do dwell, upon pain of forfeiture of twenty shillings per week, while they continue without said license; nor shall any such persons as have public houses of entertainment and have licenses, sell beer above two shillings an ale quart; neither shall any such person or persons, formerly named, suffer any to be drunk or drink excessively, or continue tippling above the space of half an hour, in any of their said houses, under penalty of five shillings; for every person found drunk in the said houses or elsewhere shall forfeit ten shillings; and for every excessive drinking he shall forfeit three shillings, four pence; for sitting idle and continuing drinking above half an hour, two shillings, six pence; and it is declared to be excessive drinking of wine when above half a pint of wine is allowed at one time to any person to drink; provided it shall be lawful for any strangers, or lodgers, or any person or persons, in any orderly way, to continue in said houses of common entertainment during meal times, or upon lawful business, what time their occasions shall require."—*Mass. Records, Vol. 2, page 100.*

The laws at this time were severe, and the conduct of those who resorted to the public tavern was made a matter of official oversight and especial legislation. In 1649 a law was passed, ordering that no person at the tavern should play at shuffleboard or any other play, under pain of forfeiture of twenty shillings from the keeper and five from every person playing. In another law of the same date it is written:

"Nor shall any take tobacco in any inn, or common victual house, except in a private room there, so as the master of said house, nor any guest there, shall take offence thereat; which if any do, then such per-

sons shall forbear, upon pains of two shillings and six pence for every such offence."

It was also forbidden any one to be found at the tavern on Saturday evening.

In 1656, the General Court of Massachusetts, by legislative enactment, made the towns liable to a fine for not sustaining an "ordinary;" and in 1660, the town of Concord, for not having a common house of entertainment, was "presented" by the Grand Jury, and for this neglect was fined 2s. and 6d., and admonished "to have a meet person nominated at the next court for such purpose, or it would be subject to a penalty of £5.

The hostelry of our Puritan forefathers must have been a very different institution from its relatives over the water, the haunts of Kit Marlowe, Jack Falstaff and even Will Shakespeare himself. Doubtless its conviviality was of a mild and chastened type, subdued to the character of those stern men of mettle, and tempered with the excuse of duty or expediency.

We read that the tithingman inspected the taverns and made complaint of any disorder he there discovered, and gave in the names of "idle tipplers and gamers," and warned the tavern-keepers to sell no more liquors to any persons whom he knew or fancied were drinking too heavily. John Josselyn complained bitterly that during his visit to New England in 1663, "at houses of entertainment into which a stranger went, he was presently followed by one appointed to that office, who would thrust himself into his company uninvited, and if he called for more drink than the officer thought in his judgment he could soberly bear away, he would presently countermand it and appoint the proportion, beyond which he could not get one drop."

From the establishment of Worcester county, in 1731, the licensing of innholders was under the jurisdiction of

the Court of Special Sessions, until its abolishment, and the transferring of this and other county business to the county commissioners. From these records we are able to trace the names of those who were wont in former days to "Welcome the coming, and speed the parting guest." But as no hint of the location of their houses is given in the records, it has required much inquiry, and the facts as here stated are as complete as can be now ascertained.

Torrey says: "In 1761 was opened the first public house ever kept in the precincts of Fitchburg." The record, however, shows that David Page, one of the earliest, if not the first of the settlers, in what was afterwards the town of Fitchburg, had his garrison house at about the present location of the "Gen. Wood place" on Pearl street, now owned by S. S. Holton. Being located on the road by which the principal communication was had between Lunenburg and the new towns above, it was favorably situated to be a convenient stopping place for the few travelers of the day, and we find him duly licensed as an innholder in 1746 and 1747.

John Fitch, from whom this city derives its name, built his house in 1739,—at the extreme north part of the town (now included in the limits of Ashby), at what was known as the "Rendezvous," seven and a half miles above the Lunenburg meeting-house, on the road leading from Lunenburg to Northfield,—and was licensed as an innholder from 1744 to 1766. He had doubtless, earlier than that, been called on,—from his convenient location, being for many years three and a half miles from the nearest neighbor, and in the absence of any other settlement in the immediate vicinity,—"to provide for the needs of man and beast who passed that way;"—as, among the reasons enumerated in his memorial to the General Court in 1749, asking for reimbursement and relief, on

account of his losses and sufferings, it is stated that "he had entertained and refreshed travelers."

Samuel Poole, who was located on Mt. Elam road, was an innholder from 1759 to 1763, at one of the old garrison houses. Also Isaac Gibson, at his house on Pearl hill, from 1760 to 1776. At these early taverns on the frontier, the weary traveler resting by the wayside found rude accommodations and simple fare. Their supplies could not have been very abundant, or their conveniences very extensive, but they were probably equal to the demands.

Samuel Hunt commenced keeping tavern near the old Page garrison, on Pearl street, in 1750 (eleven years earlier than Torrey states). In 1761, he rebuilt a portion of the house and somewhat enlarged it. Here the advocates of the new town, doubtless, met and consulted as to their plans. Here, also, after their efforts had been crowned with success, the first town meeting was held on the fifth of March, 1764, Landlord Hunt being elected a member of the first Board of Selectmen of the town of Fitchburg. In the winter of 1764–5, the first religious services were held in this tavern, the scattered families assembling for six Sundays to listen to the teaching of the Rev. Peter Whitney. Torrey remarks: "The people of those days were less scrupulous in regard to the place where they met for public worship than we of the nineteenth century are. A tavern then was no better than a tavern now, but they probably thought their Maker regarded more the feelings with which His creatures offered up their petitions and adoration, than the place in which they assembled."

The following summer, Thomas Cowdin, who was destined to be one of the pillars of the new town, moved into the village and purchased the Hunt tavern, and we find him duly licensed from 1765 to 1790. The town meetings continued to be held at the Cowdin tavern until the erec-

tion of the first meeting-house, for which landlord Cowdin gave the land, at corner of Blossom and Crescent streets, after which they were held therein.

The spacious rooms of the old tavern also furnished quarters for the first public school, and the first court of justice was also held therein, Landlord Cowdin having procured "a commission in the peace." Torrey mentions the trial of Abel Baldwin "for not duly and constantly attending meeting on the Sabbath." We fear Justice Cowdin would require a larger court-room to contain the offenders in these latter days, if he were here now to enforce that law.

David Boutelle's muster-field, in rear of what is now the American House, including Day, Snow, North, Green streets, etc., was covered with a beautiful growth of pine timber, which was cut off when, in 1774–5, Thomas Cowdin built a large addition to the dwelling which he had purchased, at about the location of the present American House, which he opened as a public house in 1775. Among the established charges of those days we find,

Dinner, Boiled and Roasted.....Seventeen cents.
Dinner, with only one of these.....Fourteen cents.
Mug of West Indian Flip.....Fifteen ½ cents.
Mug of New England Flip.....Twelve ½ cents.

The following extract from the court records of Worcester county is of interest:

"Eliphalet Mace of Fitchburg, in the County of Worcester, Yeoman, being at the bar to answer to an indictment found against him by the Grand Inquest May 27th last, of having with force and arms feloniously did, on September 27th, 1777, steal, take and carry away, against the peace and authority of the government and the people of this state, goods and chattels of Thomas Cowdin and others, viz.:

3 Oranges of the value of 6 Shillings.

5 Silk Handkerchiefs of the value of 9 pounds, 12 shillings.

2¼ yards Toweling of value of 2 pounds, 10 shillings, 6 pence.

1 Pound Coffee, of value of 9 Shillings.

1 Pair Stockings of value of 2 pounds.
2 Pounds Indigo of the value of 3 pounds.

Against which indictment said Eliphalet Mace says he will not contend against the government and people. The court having considered the case, orders that Thomas Cowdin be paid treble the value of the articles stolen, being 53 pounds, 12 shillings, and that he pay the costs of prosecution and stand committed until sentence is performed."

The newspaper of the present day did not then exist; the few publications were of scant circulation, the tavern-keeper being usually one of the few subscribers in the town; and of what we deem "news" they contained nothing. Information of current events then came through hearing and talking, not by reading. It was a custom of those days for one man to read aloud to the assembled company, who lined the walls with tipped back chairs, and drank in the story of the progress that was being made in the world, largely from long letters from abroad, and extracts from foreign papers, and what to our modern ideas appears very "dry reading."

They were then justly called "Public Houses," and the men of the town naturally flocked to the taverns as the only place where they could learn the local news, and discuss town affairs; notices of town meetings, elections, new laws, auction notices and bills of sale were posted at the tavern, as legal notices are now printed in the newspapers. The tavern was therefore the news center of the community, and the innkeeper naturally the best informed man in the place, and most influential in local affairs. The taverns were the original business exchanges. In all the old almanacs we find the distances given from tavern to tavern and not from town to town.

It would be of interest could we have a picture of the old Cowdin tavern, with the group of the fathers of the town assembled about its cheerful, open fireplace, discussing the prospect for the crops, hearing the latest news

from Boston, and suggesting what could be done to "boom" the new town.

It was the custom during the nooning, between the Sunday services at the old church, for the worshippers to resort to the tavern. In the summer-time it made an agreeable change to step over from the meeting-house and there in the shade discuss the news and gossip of the town, and incidentally the palate-pleasing beverages for which the tavern was known. In the cold winter months, the comfortable warmth of the tavern fire, and such other attractions as only the tavern could supply, were both appreciated and enjoyed. No fires were ever kindled in the old meeting-house. It was cold and gloomy within in winter, and the congregation was forced to sit shivering through the long service. The women brought with them little foot-stoves, metal boxes that stood on legs and were filled with hot coals at home, affording some warmth during the early part of the service.

The following story is told of Landlord Cowdin:

"The worshippers, resorting to the tavern for coals to replenish their foot-stoves, and gathering about the fireplace, greatly interfered with the preparations for dinner. After many discussions as to how to abolish the trouble without causing ill feeling, a colored man named Mevis (who came to Fitchburg with Capt. Cowdin, and whose name appears on the rolls of Capt. Cowdin's company in the French and Indian war) announced that if they would leave it to him, he would abate the trouble. Accordingly, the next Sunday, just before meeting was out, he placed a kettle full of swill over the fire. The women folks flocked as usual to the cheerful fireplace to warm up, after the chilly forenoon in the unheated meeting-house, and had got nicely seated for their noonday chat when Mevis came in. Stepping between the busy dames, he lifted off the kettle,

and taking it through the company, swinging it from side to side, apparently on account of its weight, politely bowing to them, said: 'Don't move; don't move. You ain't in my way.' He quickly routed the company, and was left in possession of the field."

The landlords, previous to the Revolution, gave bonds, as the record reads, "To his Majesty in the sum of fifty pounds, to keep, and render an account of all wine, rum or spirits distilled, and all limes, lemons or oranges taken in for sale, unto the Collection Deputy." (1762.)

John Adams, in a paper on "Innholders," remarks that "Taverners are generally in the country selectmen, assessors, representatives or esquires." This was true of landlord Cowdin, he being for many years one of the leading men of the town, and holding all of the above-named offices.

David Goodridge, located at South Fitchburg, on the Bemis place, received an innholder's license from 1767 to 1776. This would explain the announcement of the post-rider from Worcester, in the *Worcester Spy*, that "He would make that his stopping-place."

Kendall Boutelle had, from 1764 to 1803, another of the old taverns, at the corner of the Old Turnpike and Rollstone road. An old cellar-hole now marks the spot. The early landlords were among the active patriots of those days, as we find the names of four of them in Capt. Ebenezer Bridge's company of minute men, who started for Lexington in 1775: David Goodridge, Kendall Boutelle, Isaac Gibson and Jacob Upton.

Thomas Cowdin died in 1792, and was succeeded by his wife, Hannah Cowdin, who was duly licensed as an innholder from 1792 to 1797. We find the following bill for the entertainment of the council called to consider the ecclesiastical affairs of the town at the inn of the Widow Hannah Cowdin:

FITCHBURG, MASS., Nov. 11th, 1794.

THE VENERABLE COUNCIL'S BILL.

28 Meals of Victuals at 1 Shilling, 6d,	$7.00	
17 Suppers at 1 Shilling,	2.83	
17 Breakfasts at 1 Shilling,	2.83	
34 Dinners at 1 Shilling,	8.50	
9 Suppers at 1 Shilling,	1.50	
2 Breakfasts at 1 Shilling,	.33	
10 Lodgings at 4d.,	.54	
Horsekeeping,	10.00	
Liquor,	7.50	
Total,	———	$41.03

Received Payment,

HANNAH COWDIN.

Ephraim Smith was an innholder in 1767 and 1768; he appears to have been succeeded by Joseph Polly from 1769 to 1776, and by his widow, Dorcas Polly, from 1777 to 1779. This tavern was located on the old Ashburnham road, near the Daniel Works place; an old cellar-hole now marks the spot.

In the early days of the town, "Dean Hill" was the most flourishing part, the early settlers having preferred to "take to the hills." The old Crown Point road, which was the principal route between Boston and Vermont, passed over it, and a tavern was early established on this line of travel. Joseph Flint appears to have been the first to keep it, in 1777, and it was probably located near what was later the old Upton tavern. The next year, 1778, Jacob Upton commenced keeping what was for many years a somewhat noted hostelry, at the "Dean place," now owned by C. L. Fairbanks.

Even in those days they tried to get the best of the landlord. We find a Dr. Ball, boarding at the Upton tavern, so arranging his visits to his patients and neighbors that he might be invited to eat with them without expense to himself. His contract with landlord Upton

being that he was to pay a certain sum for meals at which he was present, and to have a certain allowance for every meal when absent; when settlement day arrived he had so shrewdly managed it that the landlord actually owed the doctor. To settle the matter, tradition says it was left out to referees, who decided that it was a fair bargain and the landlord must pay the balance due to the doctor.

Landlord Upton, on one of his trips to Boston, brought back two colored babies, for whom he is said to have paid a bushel of corn; they grew up at the old tavern, and one of them was called Boston Upton, the other Charleston Upton; one ran away when about the age of fourteen or fifteen, the other remained until manhood. On his marriage to a colored girl from Groton, Landlord Upton gave them a grand wedding, and the old tavern was filled with a large company, including many of the leading people of the town. It was an event long after referred to by those who were present. The married couple afterwards removed to Groton, where some of their descendants now reside.

Jedediah Cooper opened a public house in 1773, just over the line in Westminster, and was succeeded by his son, Samuel Cooper, who continued the business until travel was diverted by the building of the turnpike, early in the present century. Landlords Upton and Cooper were among the foremost promoters of the various movements for the proposed new town of Belvoir. Two taverns, a store and a blacksmith shop, with the activity from the travel over the Crown Point road, caused the people of that district to think they were destined to be the center of a thriving community; but they were doomed to disappointment, and that part of the town is now but very little known to a large proportion of our citizens.

At the time of the disturbances of the Shays Insurrection, it is related that Dr. Jonas Marshall was eagerly sought for, but he eluded the searching soldiers by secreting himself in the cellar of the Upton tavern. Jacob Upton, Jr., son of Landlord Upton, continued the business, as we find him licensed until 1798. Capt. Dean followed him in 1817, but soon went out of the business, as the next year his name is dropped from the list. He continued to occupy the building as a dwelling, which is still standing in a good state of preservation.

In 1798, David Boutelle purchased the old Cowdin tavern, changed the name to the "Boutelle House," and continued the business until 1803, when the building was removed across the street to about where the Old Colony House now stands, and was later torn down about 1834. The old well-sweep of the Cowdin tavern remained for a number of years as a reminder of the old stand.

Just over the line in Westminster, on the old turnpike, about 1800, John Bigelow kept a tavern.

Phineas Sawyer kept a tavern in 1792 at what is known as the "Payson Williams Place," on Williams road, now occupied by Edwin S. Burnap.

It is of interest, as showing the depreciation of paper money, that in 1781 Phineas Sawyer was elected collector of taxes, and refusing to serve, was severely fined by the town in the sum of $900, which was considered as being equal to about $10, the usual fine in such cases.

His widow, Mary Sawyer, succeeded him in 1794, and Daniel Putnam, Jr., who had married the daughter of Mr. Sawyer, assumed the management of the tavern in 1796 and continued in charge until 1802, removing to Lunenburg in 1803. The venerable Daniel Putnam of Lunenburg was born in this tavern in 1802. The building is still in a good state of preservation. The small building on the

opposite side of the street was used by Landlord Putnam for a store.

Joseph Tilden appears to have followed Mr. Putnam for the year 1803, when his name disappears from the records, and the tavern was discontinued.

A gentleman recalling his first visit to the Hub in his youthful days, in the old family chaise, says: "A journey to Boston in those days usually involved one night at least at a tavern, and that was an event to be talked of long afterward. The one to which we drove up, just as the sun was sinking behind the hills, was a typical country tavern, with its broad piazza, spacious stables, roomy sheds, and high swinging sign. There was a strong smell of lemons impregnating the air as we alighted and entered the wide hall, and a certain other odor, which I have been told since was 'Santa Cruz.' My recollection of it is that it was not at all disagreeable. Neither were the smells of cooking that came from some apartments far back in the rear, for our long ride in the pure air of the hills had given us voracious appetites for whatever the extensive resources of the hospitable tavern might set before us."

Capt. William Brown built a dwelling-house where Dr. Jewett's residence now stands, about 1783–4. He commenced keeping tavern there in 1801, and continued until 1805. The records of the first parish refer to meetings in Brown's hall, which was in this building. About this time the cost of beverages is given, as—

Nip of Grog,	6 pence.
Double bowl of Tod,	2 Shillings, 9 pence.
Double bowl of Punch,	8 Shillings.
Nip of Punch,	1 Shilling.
Brandy Sling,	8 pence.

Flip was a popular drink, made of home-brewed beer, sweetened with sugar or molasses, and flavored with a

liberal dash of rum, then stirred with a red-hot loggerhead or flip-dog, which made the liquor foam and gave it a burnt, bitter flavor.

> "Where dozed a fire of beechen logs that bred
> Strange fancies in its embers, golden red,
> And nursed the loggerhead, whose hissing dip,
> Timed by nice instinct, creamed the bowl of flip."

When the company was seated before the open fire, one great mug was passed around—a "loving cup"—and so common a drink was it that in the winter-time the loggerhead was always kept in the fire. A too liberal indulgence in this enticing beverage was apt to "set them at loggerheads," an expression frequently made use of now a days, but the origin of which few call to mind.

A stick about six or eight inches in length, flattened at the end for crushing the sugar and stirring up the mixture, known as the "toddy stick," was celebrated for the ringing music it made against the sides of the glass tumblers. The egg-nog stick, split at the end, with a transverse piece of wood inserted, was rapidly whirled round, backward and forward, between the palm of the hands, with many graceful flourishes, by the skillful men of the olden time.

Black-strap—a mixture of rum and molasses—was also a common article of sale. New England rum was the common drink, sold at wholesale at 12½ cents per gallon, and retailed at three or five cents per glass.

Joseph Mayo appears to have followed William Brown, and continued until 1809. The building then became a dwelling-house, and the residence for many years of Capt. Zachariah Sheldon. It is now occupied as a dwelling on Academy street. Timothy Garfield, who lived about where L. Sprague & Co.'s store now is, was duly licensed as an innholder in 1806, only. We also find meetings referred to in the First Parish records, in Garfield's hall, which was

without doubt in this building. Paul Wetherbee, 2d, is on the list in 1808, and Paul Boynton in 1817–18–20, but where they hung out their signs, inviting the patronage of the public, is not now known.

The first tavern on the site of the present Fitchburg House was built in 1809, on land purchased of the Fitchburg Factory by Isaiah Putnam, the first landlord. He was a prominent citizen of the town, holding many important offices and representing the town in the legislature. He sold the property in 1816 to Daniel Putnam, but he continued to be licensed as landlord until 1820, when he retired to the Putnam farm, now owned by his grandson, James E. Putnam. Some of our older citizens remember that he was famous as a wrestler. After town meetings, it was the custom to meet in the tavern yard, and the new comers to town were invited to show their skill against various competitors, it being arranged that they should always, if possible, be thrown; and to insure that result, the best wrestlers were kept in reserve until they had expended some of their strength, when Landlord Putnam and others would come forward and finish up the job in quick order. This was for many years a favorite sport, and we have with us to-day one who was reckoned among the champion wrestlers of those days. Landlord Putnam has left the reputation of having kept an excellent tavern, and was naturally a very popular "mine host."

One of the familiar sights of those days was the spring and fall training of the militia; every man between eighteen and forty-five years being obliged to turn out, "armed and equipped as the law directs." The guns, cartridge-boxes and accoutrements were required to be in good order; but as no uniform was prescribed, it was of any style or material that the fancy or ingenuity of the wearer saw fit to adopt. The animal, mineral and vegetable kingdoms

were levied upon for odd and striking effects; remnants of old uniforms from all the old wars being represented, and the variety of colors displayed would have made Joseph's coat of many colors look tame in comparison. Some of our older citizens remember seeing the lines of men drawn up before the old tavern, just before or after taking a drink—or probably both. They were known as the "Rang-de-Bangs," or "Slam-Bangs." They had many martial virtues, but like most of mankind, had their weaknesses. They were a bibulous army. One of their favorite marches was to some old tavern, away from the village. The object of the expedition was uniformly the same—"to drink them dry." With that war-cry they were always victorious, capturing the garrison by a combined assault, confiscating all of the stores, and wrecking the magazine. The booty was always paid for when the company recovered its equilibrium, by a levy of about fifty cents per man. The relative increase of cost of such luxuries nowadays will be noticed by those interested.

Thomas Miles, on the old turnpike, near the Westminster line, was licensed from 1802 to 1811, when his farm and tavern were annexed to Westminster by special act of the legislature. This tavern was afterwards kept by Major Stephen W. Webster, well remembered by the older inhabitants of the west part.

In 1811, John Whitcomb built what was afterwards so well known as the "Woodbury Tavern," on the old turnpike, and we find him landlord in 1811–12–13–15. In 1814, Luther Griggs appeared as landlord. Daniel Gerry was the next proprietor for several years, commencing in 1816, followed by Nathan Battles in 1821, and Nathaniel Maynard in 1822, and Solomon C. Pratt in 1824 and 1825; Alfred Flint in 1827, followed by William Woodbury, Sr., in 1828, who continued until 1837; John A. Peckham tried it

one year in 1838. William Woodbury, Jr., our venerable fellow citizen, assumed the management the next year, 1839. This was for many years a famous tavern, well known to travelers, and as one of the stations for exchanging horses in the old stage-coach days, was the scene of much activity.

About 1843, Mr. William Woodbury and his brother, Sabin Woodbury, were in charge, and continued until the opening of the Fitchburg Railroad, in 1845, diverted the travel from the old stage road, and the tavern was soon after discontinued. The building was totally destroyed by fire July 2, 1861, as it was supposed by a defective flue, and the present brick dwelling-house was afterwards built on the old site.

Mr. Woodbury has a ready fund of stories of the old tavern days. In 1845, there were just one hundred of the regular established taverns on the route between Boston, Greenfield and Brattleborough. They were frequently only a short distance apart, and entertained many sojourners. The sanded-floored bar-room nightly attracted a jovial company, which grew hilarious as the hours sped, under the inspiration of unlimited flip; but the old landlords never reached the point of following the custom which is said to have prevailed in some of the old German inns, of charging the guests in proportion to the noise they made.

Those were the days of the "long nine" cigars, which were evidently not pure Havanas, as they retailed for only one cent apiece. Mr. Woodbury recalls a customer who purchased one of these long nines and tendered a bank bill in payment. It was at the time when there was a great scarcity of change. Reaching back to a shelf behind the bar, the landlord took down a cigar box full of old-fashioned copper cents and gave him his change entirely in these, on the bar. The man took off his hat and

scooped them all from the counter into it, and placing it firmly on his head walked out. What happened when he removed his hat, Mr. Woodbury does not know. He recalls another patron who, calling for the "old New England toddy," poured himself out an extra large glassful, which quickly disappeared, and, handing over fourpence-halfpenny, received back, to his surprise, three cents in change. "Why, how is this?" he exclaimed, "everybody else charges me fourpence-halfpenny!" "O," was the reply, "we always sell cheaper at wholesale!" He accepted the explanation, and, pocketing his three cents, marched out, the bystanders enjoying a hearty laugh at this new way of doing business.

Of the many landlords of the old taverns of the stage coach route from Boston to Brattleborough at the time of Mr. Woodbury's retirement, he thinks himself the only one now living.*

Many of the old landlords were noted for their dry humor, and were never at a loss for a method of expressing their ideas. The story is told of a Vermont celebrity, that one morning after breakfast, as a stranger was about to depart without paying his bill, "Uncle Peter" walked up to him, and blandly said, "Mister, if you should lose your pocket-book between here and Greenfield, remember you didn't take it out here."

Joseph Moore was the next proprietor of the Fitchburg tavern in 1821, being followed in 1822 and 1823 by Jacob Jaquith. During the regime of the latter, a scandal caused a disturbance in the Page district, resulting in a visit of the "white caps" of these days to the offenders. A party who was charged with being one of the participants was arrested; at the trial, Landlord Jaquith was called and interrogated as to the report that the crowd

*William Woodbury, Jr., died March 23, 1896, in his 87th year.

had visited his tavern for the purpose of removing the paint and disguises after their return from the expedition; but he was a very discreet "mine host," and appears to have been troubled with a very bad loss of memory (as is sometimes the case in these later days), and could not recall any one coming to the hotel that night. The party was discharged for lack of evidence.

Amos Sheldon, in 1823, secured a lease from Daniel Putnam of the lower tavern, commencing business in the winter of that year. The old day-book of Landlord Sheldon, exhibited at a recent meeting of the society, covering from 1823 to 1827, was examined with much interest. The items charged give a good idea of the prices of those days. We find horse and shay to Ashburnham, 70 cents; horse and shay to Westminster, 44 cents; horse and shay to Lunenburg, 30 cents; horse and wagon to Westminster, 25 cents; horse and shay to Leominster, 38 cents; horse and sleigh to Leominster, 50 cents; pint of beer, 6 cents; punch, 12 cents; one dozen biscuit, 17 cents; lodging, 12 cents; bottle of peppermint, 6 cents; baiting, 25 cents; lodging, 8 cents; board and lodging, 25 cents; hay, 4 cents; dinner, 17 cents; paying post, 6 cents; wine, 6 cents; cider and crackers, 5 cents; cordial, 3 cents; boarding, 3 cents; dinner, 12½ cents; breakfast, 12½ cents; chicken, 5 cents lb.; turkey, 8 cents lb.

The First Parish singers are charged 63c. and 42c. for hall; also, 50c. without candles and 65c. with candles.

The Selectmen of Fitchburg had 2 slings, 15c.; 2 dinners, 30c.; punch, 20c.; spirit, $1.25.

The Second Parish singers—Use of hall with candles, 75c.; two pails of brandy sling, $2.50; hall, 50c.; one pound candles, 15c.

The First Parish—Punch, $1; June 30, 1824, entertainment of Dr. Ware, 80c.

The Parish Assessors—Punch and sling, 27c.; sling and victuals, 55c.; June 15 to 18, 1824, entertainment, $2.10.

To secure a license as innholder, it was necessary for the applicant to bring to the court sufficient testimony from the selectmen of the town as to his character. The following is a copy of bond required of the early landlords:

"That he shall not suffer or have any playing of cards, dice, tally, bowls, nine-pins, billiards, or any unlawful game or games, in his said house, or yard, or garden; nor shall suffer to remain in his house any person not being of his family on Saturday night after dark, or on the Sabbath day, or during the time of God's public worship; nor shall he entertain as lodgers in his house any strangers, men or women, above the space of forty-eight hours, but such whose names and surnames he shall deliver to one of the selectmen or constable of the town, unless they shall be such as he well knoweth and will ensure for his or their forth coming; nor shall sell any wine to Indians or negroes, or suffer any children, or servants, or other person, to remain in his house tippling or drinking after nine o'clock in the night; nor shall buy, or take to preserve, any stolen goods; nor willingly or knowingly harbor in his house, barn, stable, or otherwise, any rogues, vagabonds, thieves, sturdy beggars, masterless men and women, or notorious offenders whatsoever; nor shall any person whatsoever sell or utter any wine, beer, ale, cider, rum, brandy, or other liquors, for defaulting or by color of his license, nor shall entertain any person or persons to whom he shall be prohibited by law, or by any one of the magistrates of the county, or persons of jolly conversation or given to tippling."

On Sundays, between services, the women and children would eat their lunch in the tavern parlor, and the men would collect in the bar-room and purchase gingerbread and cheese.

Some of our old residents can doubtless remember of being in the bar-room after the morning service, of seeing the old men seated in a semi-circle about the fire, passing a great mug of flip from one to another, and talking of the old wars in which some of them had taken part.

After a great snow-storm, the neighbors would often first break out the paths to the tavern, and the rigors of winter would be forgotten in good fellowship and a mug of something warm.

The landlords were mostly farmers, and the neighbors found a ready market for their hay, grain and produce; they were nearly always men of thrifty yet kindly ways, and popular with their hearty, boisterous, ever changing households. There were no servants in those days, but the "helpers" were all native born and equals. The wives superintended the kitchen, and were generally the cooks; their own and their neighbors' daughters waited on the table; the boys worked in the stable, and man's work, as well as woman's work, was never done.

A vast deal of work and responsibility fell on the woman of the house in the country tavern, which depended so largely for its success and popularity on its table; she had to devote much time and attention to the cooking,—as it has often been said that "the surest way to a man's heart is through his stomach."

Said an old landlady of many years experience, recently, "If it was not one task or duty, it was another." There was little or no Sunday in her life, and just as sure as she did get her meeting things on, ready to go out and hear the parson, extra guests would arrive, and she must, of necessity, spend the morning in cooking meats instead of singing hymns. The church going from which she says she received the most good, was getting her children ready for Sunday school. She adds that the excitement and stir of the life of the country tavern was all that kept the landladies alive. They simply did not have time to think of the amount of work that they were doing. The variety of guests gave opportunity for the study of human nature. There was an interest in con-

structing, out of the imagination, the pasts of the persons concerning whom one knew nothing, but who were one's guests.

There is a lamentable amount of intemperance at the present day in New England, as well as elsewhere, but the number of those who are strictly temperate is much greater than formerly. Many can well remember when the habit of drinking intoxicating liquors was not only fashionable and reputable, but was considered essential to health.

In most private houses the sideboard was to be found liberally furnished with well-filled decanters, and almost everyone imbibed more or less freely and frequently. The morning, mid-day and evening callers were invited to "take a drink," and no urging was necessary. The minister and people deemed it right, and honestly thought they were justified in taking a little, not only for "their stomach's sake, and often infirmities," but for strength to perform daily duties. At weddings and funerals, at church-raisings and ordinations, house-raisings and social gatherings, huskings, in the fields, in the store and in the workshop, a liberal supply of intoxicating drinks was considered proper and healthful. In cold weather, liquors were drunk to promote warmth; and in warm weather, to help keep cool. Crying babies were silenced with hot toddy, then esteemed an infallible remedy for wind in the stomach. The farmer wanted his extra cider for his hoeing or thrashing, and his extra rum for haying; and in the latter work, especially, he hardly thought it possible to get along without it. In fact, upon almost all occasions, it seemed to be considered that liquor was indispensable. In the newspapers of those days, we find advertised, "Real Staff of Life, directly from St. Croix." The cider mug was invariably on the table at meal times; always on the side-

board, and too often those who went to the cellar for the supply "drank at the tap."

Every caller, from the minister and doctor to the tramp, was offered the common drink, with the apology, if it was sour, as it sometimes was in the spring,—"It is pretty hard;" to which custom required the response, "It is harder when there is none;"—an assertion that often had more of politeness than of truth.

There is a story of a preacher of those days who thus lectured his parish: "I say nothing, my beloved brethren, against taking a little bitters before breakfast, and after breakfast, especially if you are used to it; what I contend against is this dramming, dramming, dramming, at all hours of the day. There are some men who take a glass at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and at four in the afternoon. I do not propose to contend against old-fashioned customs, my brethren, rendered respectable by time and authority; but this dramming, dramming, is a crying sin in the land."

An hour before the stage coach was due the landlord was to be found in the tap-room, transferring his liquors from demijohns to bottles, setting his glasses in single file, bidding the servants make haste with the dinner or supper, of which there was already premonitory odors of the most appetizing kind. As the minutes to spare were reduced, the servants increased their activity, and the odors became more distinct. No sooner did the host hear the approach of the stage to the doors than, with a parting admonition to the kitchen, he hastened to the porch and stood there with a smiling face, the picture of welcome, as the coach rounded up and the driver threw his reins to the waiting hostlers. A glance at the travelers, as they alighted and were ushered by him into the house, enabled him to mentally assign each to a room,

the advantages of which he would describe ere sending its destined occupant under the pilotage of a servant.

Once in a while a landlord would be found who was noted for his tricks on travelers, one of which was to have the driver call to the passengers, "Stage ready," and compel them to hurriedly leave their scarcely tasted meal, after having paid for the same. The story is told of one "Yankee" passenger who had heard of the game played at a certain tavern, and determined to get the best of both the tricky driver and landlord. Disregarding, therefore, the call to the passengers, he continued at the table and allowed the stage to drive off without him. He did ample justice to the repast, sending out the servants and landlord on this errand and that, and finally rounded off with a call for a bowl of bread and milk; and when it was brought, asked for a spoon; but no spoons were to be found. The landlord was sure there were plenty of silver ones lying on the table when the stage stopped. Our Yankee friend asked him "if he supposed those passengers were going away without something for their money?" The landlord rushed out to the stable and started a man off after the stage, which had gone about three miles. He overtook the stage and said something to the driver in a low tone, who immediately turned about. On arriving at the tavern, the landlord calls to our Yankee friend, who had quietly taken his seat in the coach, "to point out the man who took those spoons." "P'int him out? Sartainly I can. Say, Squire, I paid you for my breakfast, and I calculate I got the value on't. You'll find them spoons in the coffee-pot. Go ahead. All aboard, driver!"

The tavern was open to all comers except Indians, negroes and apprentices. Every indenture of apprentice, girl or boy, contained the clause—"Taverns nor ale-house he shall not frequent except it be about his master's or mistress' business."

In domestic lighting, for nearly the first half of the present century, candles held almost undisputed sway. Old stagers may yet recall the dimly lighted parlor, the fire burning softly in the twilight, where the elders kept blind-man's holiday. The bell is rung, and Mary brings in candles; a pair of moulds in tall brass candlesticks, brightly polished, with snuffers of steel, with jaws that opened and shut with a snap, and something sinister in their appearance. There were also plated candlesticks and snuffers, for occasions of state, with silver branches that suggested the spoils of Jerusalem; but there was a lamp, a stately device of bronze, that towered over the family circle at times, and shed a generous and genial light, when so inclined;—but what a demon it was to smoke and to smell!—and it would burn, when it condescended to burn at all, nothing but the very finest sperm oil, at a fabulous price per gallon.

It was a gay winter's scene, as sleigh after sleigh dashed into the tavern barn or shed, and the stiffened driver, after "putting up" his steed, walked quickly to the bar-room, where sat the host behind his cage-like counter, where were ranged the inspiring barrels of Old Medford or Jamaica rum and hard cider. Many of the arrivals were drivers of loads of merchandise to and from the adjoining towns, stopping only for dinner or lodging; some saving teamsters brought fodder for their horses, and a box of food for themselves; paying only ten cents for lodging, and of course something for grog; yet they were welcomed as swelling the volume of business, the host looking for his profits from the liquor he dispensed, and the sleeping-room he sold.

The accommodations were pressed to a degree not tolerated by our present habits; two beds in a room, two lodgers in a bed, was the rule; ten cents being generally

the charge for half a bed; and they got a full-bed's worth of deep hollows, big billows of live-geese feathers, warm homespun blankets, and patchwork quilts. Sometimes they were more simply quartered. A great fire was kindled in the fireplace of either front room, bar-room or parlor, and around it they gathered in a semi-circle. Many a rough joke was laughed at, and many a story told, ere, with feet to the fire, and their heads on their rolled up buffalo robes, the tired travelers dropped to sleep; but four o'clock found them all bestirring and ready for breakfast (which was served at half-past four in summer, and five in winter), as the teamsters must get on the road early.

Breakfast consisted of beef-steak, mutton-chops, eggs, and often roast chicken, as keeping poultry was a large item in tavern economy. Pie was also often served at breakfast.

Dinner was a regular country repast; there was a loud exchange of news and jokes, and the motto of the old tavern was: "Come in and make yourself at home."

"The eating was the cream of the earth, sir," said an old traveler. "I dined last week at Delmonico's, and my dinner was nothing to the cutlets, the ham and eggs, and johnny-cakes of the old tavern days."

Many are the stories told at those times. A half-crazy fellow, acting under the delusion that he was a great soldier, and sometimes even a whole army, entered the bar-room where he was well known, and assuringly said to the landlord that he thought he had "sense enough to have a glass of grog;" after some banter the landlord gave him a drink, which he swallowed with a gusto and then calmly remarked that he guessed he hadn't "cents enough to pay for it," and departed, leaving the landlord to take the guys of the other guests with the best grace he could.

Beer and whiskey have driven out foaming flip, and no glory is left for him who, a century ago, could have been a hard drinker and also an estimable citizen of this glorious commonwealth. The story is told of a landlord who was noted for his affable smile and capacity for liquor; but alas, he met his fate, for one day he sat down with a guest, before his admirers, to a friendly drinking bout. Long into the night they sat, and when the morning light stole through the windows the stranger went his way, but the landlord was picked up from under the table, and put to bed; and it is said that the neighborhood wept over the downfall of the prominent citizen, beaten by a man from Boston.

Upon Tremont street in Boston there was a restaurant, popular with the city wits. One day a portly, aldermanic man presented himself at the entrance and asked the price of a dinner; one of the wits immediately assumed all of the obsequious airs of a waiter and, taking a tape measure, proceeded to measure the distance around the protuberant waist of the astonished and insulted inquirer, who could hardly believe his sense of hearing when the impudent wit very politely answered, "Price of a dinner, sir? about four dollars, sir, for that size, sir." Such were the practical jokes of tavern life in the olden days.

The ownership of the Fitchburg tavern was transferred by Daniel Putnam to Nehemiah Giles in 1826, subject to the lease of Landlord Sheldon, and was sold by Mr. Giles in 1828 to Solomon C. Pratt, who, on the expiration of Landlord Sheldon's lease, in April, 1829, appears to have refused a renewal of the same, and Mr. Pratt assumed the proprietorship, and was himself duly licensed in that year.

At this time, and for many years later, there was a custom at houses of entertainment which appears singular

to the young of the present day. A lot of slippers, of various hues and sizes, were always arranged in a row in the office for the accommodation of the guests during the day or evening. The indispensable boot-jack was brought forth; the high-top boots, then universally worn by men and boys, were removed and taken away to be blacked or greased, and the feet tucked into the easy slipper. The next morning the guest, replacing the slippers in their accustomed place, received his boots in exchange.

The venerable mail-carrier, Henry L. Lawrence, made his first visit to this city in 1826, and recalls his visit to Landlord Sheldon, with whom he stopped over night. He was then a lad of only fourteen, and was driving a team of two yoke of oxen from Pepperell to Hubbardston with a load of goods. Sheldon helped him with a horse to Woodbury's tavern, and Mr. Woodbury, Sr., rented him a horse to complete his journey, on account of the bad traveling. He was gone three days and two nights, and on his return, inquiring the charge for the horse, was informed, "Oh, about two-and-threepence" (thirty-seven and one-half cents).

In 1828–9 a dwelling-house standing near the site of the present National House, was enlarged and opened as a public house by Amos Sheldon, whose lease of the Fitchburg tavern had expired. He continued until 1831, when the building was removed and the present National House was built by Capt. Zachariah Sheldon, the front and projecting part having a row of six granite pillars from Rollstone hill. The date, 1831, is still to be seen cut at the base of one of the pillars. Capt. Zachariah Sheldon was asked during its erection if he didn't think it quite a risky thing to build such a large tavern in so small a place as Fitchburg,—the new building being much larger than the old Fitchburg tavern. "Oh," he replied, with a confident air, "the town will grow to it." The new house was

called the "Nashua River Hotel," and was opened early in 1832 by Harvey Alden, who remained in charge for many years. About this time, "Tom and Jerry" was a favorite beverage. A member of a temperance society was disciplined for intoxication, and gave as his excuse that he hadn't been *drinking* anything, but had eaten some "Tom and Jerry" with a spoon.

The old landlords were generally a jolly lot, and dearly loved a joke. The following story is a good example: There came one night a furious rapping at the tavern door. Everyone was, of course, abed. The raps continued energetically. The landlord stuck his head out of the window and asked, "What do you want?" "I want to stay here," was the reply. "Well, stay there, then," said Uncle John, and he put the window quickly down. But before the astonished and belated traveler could come to an appreciation of his apparently hopeless situation, Uncle John appeared at the door with his beaming face, and the midnight visitor was soon well fed and asleep in bed.

We find the following in a published letter of a visitor to this city in a newspaper of 1832:

"There are two hotels; both are roomy, well fitted up, and enjoy a large traveling patronage. The stages stop at both; the leading citizens encourage both, and a stranger who has participated in the hospitality of both would hardly be able on a succeeding visit to decide his preference."

In 1832 Capt. Zachariah Sheldon petitioned the town for authority to erect a sign-post opposite Harvey Alden's Hotel on the common, and at the town meeting in August of that year, it was "Voted, that Capt. Z. Sheldon have permission to erect a sign-post on the common, under the direction of the Selectmen with regard to place, kind and style of post and guide-boards, all to be done to their satisfaction; and it is expected to be ornamental to the common."

Solomon C. Pratt, in 1830, leased the Fitchburg tavern to Danforth Lawrence, who had been a clerk for Landlord Pratt. He was succeeded in 1831 by Erastus C. Doolittle, a name well known in stage-coach days. Solomon C. Pratt again resumed the management of the tavern the next year, and we find in the *Worcester County Courier*, printed at Fitchburg July 15, 1834, the following item:

"The sign which swings in front of the Fitchburg Hotel, indicating that the weary traveler may find accommodations and refreshment within, has lately received a new coat of paint, and now gives a very fine view of Pratt's Hotel; the foreground is occupied by a stage coach, drawn by *four blue horses*."

The dwelling house at the Capt. Oliver Fox place, at corner of Prichard and Main streets, later the Marshall place, and now the site of the opera house, was fitted up as a public house, and was occupied by Israel Knight in 1838. He was followed by Solomon C. Pratt, who made considerable alteration in the building in 1839. It was later again occupied as a dwelling by Chedorlaomer Marshall; the old building is now standing near the corner of Prichard and Elm streets.

In 1835 Stephen Parker became the next landlord of the Fitchburg tavern, but retired after a short proprietorship. For a single year, 1837, Austin Gleason was at the Nashua River Hotel, but Harvey Alden again resumed charge in 1838. George Whitcomb was landlord of the Fitchburg tavern, commencing in 1836; followed by Aaron F. Beaman in 1840. In 1841 David McIntire was the proprietor, and the *Sentinel* of September 30, 1841, refers in very complimentary terms to the fine banquet served in "McIntire's best style," at the annual celebration of the Fitchburg Fusiliers.

In 1842 the Washingtonian temperance movement caused much discussion in the matter of licenses. The *Sentinel* of Friday, April 8, 1842, says:

"The public houses of this town were closed on Saturday last, as was said, for want of licenses to sell spirituous liquors. The front doors were closed and fastened, and the entrances from the stables and sheds were blockaded. Things remained in this way until Monday, town-meeting day, when the subject was brought before the people of the town by a motion to instruct the selectmen to approbate, for licenses to sell liquor, three public houses and one restaurant; which was decided by a vote of six to one in the negative; and on Tuesday morning the houses were opened for the accommodation of the public. During the time the hotels were closed, the stage proprietors, Marshall and Whitcomb, accommodated the stage passengers at their houses. There will be a temperance house established in this town as soon as a house can be obtained."

In June, 1842, Marble Putnam opened the Fitchburg tavern, and it was known as "Putnam's Temperance House." At this hotel we find the meetings in regard to the railroad were called; also the meeting on January 26, 1843, to organize a new church, (Trinitarian), by seceding members of the C. C. church, on the anti-slavery issue.

In a letter dated March 18, 1843, published in the *Sentinel*, the writer commends the house "as being kept on Washingtonian principles, and everything about the establishment first-class, and one of the best hotels he has ever found in any place."

In 1843 Daniel Moulton succeeded to the upper tavern, and changed the name to the "Washington House." The big sign on the common opposite was remodeled and came out with the new name, "Washington House, D. Moulton, Proprietor," with a large picture of George Washington on horseback. This old sign remained for many years, until it succumbed to the effects of exposure to the wind and storms. In the old hall of this tavern were held the first meetings of Aurora Lodge, on its removal from Leominster to this city in 1845.

Public feeling at this time was greatly aroused on the temperance question, on account of the "Washingtonian movement," and Landlord Moulton became involved in a

lively controversy with Editor Merriam of the *Sentinel*, and threatened to horsewhip him if he met him on the street. The editor was not, however, to be intimidated, and continued to exercise "the freedom of the press," and there is no record that the threatened chastisement ever took place.

In 1845 Caleb W. Jaquith and W. W. Comee became the next landlords of the old Fitchburg Hotel, then a two-story wooden structure, with an ell containing the dance-hall extending over the driveway to the stables. In this hall were also held the meetings of Aurora Lodge until the fitting up of the rooms in Torrey & Wood's block. On a pole in front of the old tavern swung a sign, inscribed: "Fitchburg Hotel, Jaquith & Comee," with a large spread eagle for a center-piece.

A writer in the *New England Washingtonian* of January, 1846, says:

"FITCHBURG HOTEL.—This large and splendid establishment is kept by Messrs. Jaquith & Comee, two standard teetotalers, and gentlemen who perfectly understand the business of keeping a temperance house of the first class. This hotel is situated in the center of the town, on the left-hand side from the depot. If gentlemen traveling are fond of clean beds, an excellent table, gentlemanly attendance and moderate charges, they will be sure to find them beneath the spacious roof of Messrs. Jaquith & Comee."

In the old days, when the snow came in November and remained until March, one of the familiar sights was a long line of large and single sleighs driving into town from all over this section of the country, sometimes from fifty to one hundred couples being in the party, bound for a jolly time at one of the old taverns, at which they had made arrangements. The genial landlord would meet the merry party at the curbstone and assist each couple to alight, with a courtesy and deference peculiar to that day, greeting each couple with a heartiness which convinced them that they were the ones he was especially glad to

see, and making all feel entirely at home. After warming up at the cheerful fires, they repaired to the bountiful repast awaiting their coming, and with what a "feast of reason and a flow of soul the time flew."

All of the old taverns were provided with a hall for such occasions, and thither they would repair and trip the light fantastic, and the Virginia reel and other country dances and break-downs were enjoyed until the small hours of the morning, the tireless fiddlers being always provided in the arrangements.

For five years Messrs. Jaquith & Comee had a house full; they also ran the stables in the rear of the hotel, and when night came the tavern yard was full of vehicles of travelers who partook of the hospitality of "mine hosts," while their horses were comfortably provided for in the adjoining stables which, many nights, contained over one hundred horses.

Numerous public dinners and dances, or balls, were given at this house. Many will recall Eliakim Estabrook, a clerk of the Fitchburg tavern for Jaquith & Comee. He officiated as bell-ringer, bar-keeper, and, in fact, a generally useful man about the house; he had a somewhat pompous air, and one might have thought he owned the whole house. He always had a pleasant word for every one, and his hearty welcome to the passengers, whom he always met on the arrival of the stage, gave him an extended acquaintance, and made him popular with the traveling public. The building of the Fitchburg railroad and the location of the depot at the "old city" resulted in the erection of the main part of the present American House, by David Boutelle, in 1845. It was opened in the latter part of that year by Warner and William J. Clifford, but the latter soon after assumed sole management. The *Sentinel* of January 16, 1846, has a letter signed Rindge, N. H., which reads:

"We would ask liberty to say to all lovers of comfort, good-cheer, and gentlemanly treatment, that if you wish to find the best accommodations for balls, sleighing parties, social dinners, or anything of the kind, go to the American House, Fitchburg. We have tried it, and, as the Yankees say, 'we have traveled some,' and we are satisfied that no hotel, at a distance from a seaboard city, can offer better accommodations, a richer, or more ample bill of fare, more elegantly finished or furnished rooms, or more polite and gentlemanly attendants, than were furnished for a sleighing party from our place, at Messrs. Cliffords', at American House, Fitchburg, Mass., and last, though not always least, at a price perfectly satisfactory to all. We would therefore take occasion, while the delicious flavor of the viands remains fresh in our memories (if not in our mouths), to recommend all our traveling friends to give them a call, if for nothing more than to observe the difference between a first-rate hotel and a medium one."

The following item also appears in the same issue:

"Supper at the American House." It will be seen by a notice in another column that arrangements have been made for a temperance festival at above house. From what we have heard concerning the character of the hosts, we feel assured that the establishment will be conducted in the very best manner and on strict temperance principles. The house is new, spacious and convenient, and will, no doubt, gain great favor with the public. We are glad to see the movement on the part of the temperance people, in favor of public houses which keep clear of the bane of humanity—'intoxicating drink.' Let all turn out, the ladies of course should not be left at home, and give the Messrs. Cliffords a full house, thus showing them that the people approve their course, and will endeavor to sustain temperance houses."

Col. William F. Day commenced his long connection with the hotel business in this city by taking possession of the American House in 1848.

On May 1, 1849, Abial J. Town, Nathaniel Wood, Ivers Phillips, their associates and successors, were incorporated under the name of the Fitchburg Hotel Company, "for the purpose of erecting buildings necessary and convenient for a public house." The corporation was authorized "to hold such real and personal property as may be necessary and convenient for the purpose, not

exceeding $60,000 in amount," and it was provided, "If any ardent spirits or intoxicating drinks of any kind whatever shall be sold by said company, or by their agents, lessees, or persons in their employ, contrary to law, in any of said buildings, then this act shall be void."

In 1850 the old Fitchburg tavern was removed to the present soldiers' monument lot, and fitted up for tenements; and the present Fitchburg Hotel building was erected by the Hotel Company, of which Col. Ivers Phillips was president, at a cost of $38,000; and was considered at the time, in the words of a local paper, "in its furnishings not surpassed by any house outside of Boston, some of its rooms being gorgeously furnished." The *Sentinel* of February 7, 1851, announced that the "Fitchburg Hotel Company had leased the new and splendid building erected by them the past season to David F. McIntire and Caleb W. Jaquith, who will open it in a few weeks. These gentlemen have been favorably known as landlords of the old stand, and their numerous friends all over the country will rejoice at the announcement that they are to resume their old business at the new and commodious building. A good, clean, well-kept public house in an inland town will accomplish more in raising the general character of the town abroad than almost any other thing."

It was opened on March 11, 1851, with a grand public dinner and complimentary ball in the evening, which were notable events, long remembered by all who attended. Cards of invitation were issued, a few of which are still in existence.

"Grand opening supper, given in honor of the opening of the new Fitchburg Hotel, under the proprietorship of Messrs. David F. McIntire and Caleb W. Jaquith.

DEAR SIR: The company of yourself with ladies is respectfully solicited at the Fitchburg Hotel, on Thursday, March 11. Assemble at 3,

supper at 6 o'clock, p. m. Committee of arrangements: Ivers Phillips, A. J. Town, N. Wood, Walter Heywood, John Prichard, K. Harwood, S. M. Dole, G. Wood, M. Gage, J. T. Farwell, J. B. Proctor, Joseph Lowe. Music, vocal and instrumental. Gov. Boutwell and the speaker of the house and senate are to be present upon this occasion."

N. P. Banks was speaker of the house, and Henry Wilson was president of the senate.

Of the committee of arrangements only two survive—Ivers Phillips of Boulder, Col., and J. B. Proctor of Lunenburg. Of the invited guests of honor, Gov. Boutwell is the only survivor.

McIntire & Jaquith continued in charge until April 1, 1853, when both retired from the hotel business, with many complimentary notices from the local papers. In 1852 Phillips & Hammond succeeded to the management of the American House. Mr. Phillips was the father of our present state treasurer, who passed some of his boyhood days in this city.

The popular clerk, Joseph Fairbanks, at the Washington House, was in charge of that hotel after the death of Mr. Moulton until 1853, when Calvin Heywood, an old hotel-keeper in Westminster, removed to this city and became the proprietor, and changed the name to the "Rollstone House," Mr. Fairbanks remaining as clerk.

The *Reveille* of April 23, 1853, has the following item:

"FITCHBURG HOTEL. This pleasantly situated, spacious hotel was reopened last Wednesday by Messrs. Albert Morgan of Gloucester, and Charles A. Saunders of Boston."

From items later in the local papers it appears they found it anything but smooth sailing, and soon resigned the helm, and left the town.

The *Reveille* in 1853 says:

"No liquor is sold at the Fitchburg Hotel, and it is under the direct supervision of the president of the corporation, and is conducted in a manner to rival the best country hotels, and that has always been the

reputation of all the Fitchburg public houses. Fitchburg is one of the pleasantest inland towns of the state, and in summer is the favorite resort of those who love the green fields, in connection with the comforts and luxuries of the city, and with business men at all times of the year."

During that year the easterly wing of the American House was built, the first story being intended to supply the demand for stores in that part of the town, and a fine, large hall for social gatherings, etc., provided in the third story.

In 1856 William F. Day was appointed superintendent for the Fitchburg Hotel Company, and in 1857 became proprietor of the house. In 1857 Josiah Stevens was the next landlord of the American House, being succeeded by W. W. Comee in 1858, followed by Ellis & Cushing in 1859, by C. G. and G. R. Cushing in 1860, and by Joseph Waterhouse in 1862, who remained until 1869, when William F. Day again assumed the management, and Gould G. Ruggles became landlord of the Fitchburg Hotel.

Many will remember seeing some of the numerous sleighrides from neighboring towns drive up to the American House, and the genial Col. Day coming out to greet them, assisting each couple to alight, with a courtesy that indicated, in a graceful way, the pleasure of meeting a particular friend.

In 1862 and 1863, George White & Co. were the proprietors of the Rollstone House. On April 13, 1863, a fire nearly destroyed the building, and for many years it was not occupied as a hotel.

The later history of our public houses is too well known to be included in the limits of this article.

Many of the old landlords were large, portly men, the picture of good living, and full of humor and practical jokes. The following story is told of one of these vet-

erans: "He was the landlord of a good old-fashioned tavern for nearly forty years. Just where he conceived his 'April-fool joke' was not known, but a gray-haired citizen was caught by it for the twenty-third consecutive year, according to good authority. The hotel was built with the old-style fashionable front, had a piazza running the whole length, from which opened two large doors. In winter these were protected by portable storm-porches, about the width of the doors, and four feet deep. The door opening into the office was in constant use, and it was here the trap was set for the unwary. As the first of April rolled round, the veteran landlord would have the porch of the office door moved along the piazza to the left, so that it faced the blank wall of the house, projecting sufficiently to hide the office door from a person approaching from up street, and making the delusion more effectual. The snare would, perhaps, be hardly set before up came a grocery delivery wagon; the driver leaping from his seat, grabs his basket and bundles, stumbles up the steps, kicks open the door, and rushes into the trap 'all over,' as the heavy weighted door slams behind him.

"Next comes along, perhaps, one of the men of leisure, who thinks to drop in for a chat and learn the news, etc. He opens the door, and deliberately closing it behind him, carefully wipes his feet, and fumbles over the cold clapboards for the door-latch, and then, too late, remembers the 'old, old joke.'

"Next along come a phalanx of travelers. The leader recognizes the plot, as having cost him many a cigar the year before, and resolves on a wholesale slaughter of the rest of the boys. By shrewd tactics he gets them all in a group, half a dozen or more being in the party. 'Now,' boys,' says he, 'let's all pile into the office in a bunch

and holler, Hullo, old Jed.' All agree to it. 'Now, charge with a rush!' In a second all but one are floundering in a confused heap in that 4x6 box, while the cause of the commotion slips into the best room, and is well settled before the confused contingent gets unraveled, and with battered hats, and wrath in their eyes, swarm in.

"Thus it went on all day, and the jolly landlord, from his chair in the reading room, chuckled and haw-hawed at the success of his little scheme. It was whispered, however, that, by a deep-laid plot, he was once inveigled into his own trap, and that he had to go down cellar and bring up something to square matters."

With the introduction of railroads and passing away of the stage coaches, most of the old taverns have disappeared; but there are a few still remaining. A friend, in speaking to the writer, recently, on this subject, referred to a carriage drive through this section of the state, last summer, in which he made it a point to look for the old wayside inns, so full of homelike comfort. He found one, only a few miles south of this city, which he described as looking just as it was, probably, fifty years ago. Driving up to the door, he was received by the venerable landlord with an old-fashioned welcome, and after a hearty supper was shown to a large, double room, with its two beds, and whitewashed walls and timbers; everything as neat and clean as wax. The host, after inquiring if anything more could be done for his comfort, left him, saying, "The bell boy is out; the elevator is not running; good-night."

STAGE COACH DAYS AND STAGE COACH WAYS.

Read at a meeting of the Society, February 18, 1895.

BY FREDERICK A. CURRIER.

Stage coaches and public conveyance is a subject which, at the first view, appears to touch only the surface of society, but it really involves many features of a nation's social life; and among the customs and manners of by-gone days, there is nothing which offers more interesting association, adventure, good fellowship and fun, than the study of the old-time coaching. A glance at the history of public traveling vehicles shows that our forefathers, in order to travel on land in the early days, had to go on horseback or "foot it." Stage-coaching in America originated, of course, from the English system, although differing from it in many respects.

In the very old days, when the horse was considered the only fit means of locomotion for the lords of creation, men looked with contempt on the first rude wheeled conveyances, thinking them only fit for women and invalids, though the latter would have had a hard time in the primitive coach.

In England, the first coaches appeared about the time of Queen Elizabeth. A satirical poet of those times wrote thus:

> "When Queen Elizabeth came to the crowne,
> A coach in England then was scarcely knowne;
> Then 'twas as rare to see one as to spye
> A tradesman that had never told a lie."

About 1670 appeared the following announcement in London:

"FLYING MACHINE."

"All who desire to pass from London to Bath, or any other place on the road, let them repair to the Bell Savage, on Ludgate Hill in London, and the White Lion at Bath, at both of which places they may be received in a stage coach every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, which performs the whole journey in three days (if God permits), and sets forth at five in the morning."

The announcement drew a crowd to the Bell Savage, even at that early hour in the morning. They eyed the "flying machine" drawn up in the inn yard, ready for its flight, with a wild surmise; with a kindred expression they also eyed the six intrepid passengers who had been received into it. They were all experienced travelers, but were about to try the new idea of going thirty-five instead of twenty miles per day. They probably felt like the passengers by the first railroad train, and had committed themselves to Providence, as provided in the advertisement, booking through to Bath, not very well knowing what they might come to, remembering the roads (so called) of that day. After twice narrowly escaping upsetting and being shaken out of their seven senses before hardly clearing the metropolis, they were "held up" by the celebrated highwayman, Claude Duval, who quickly relieved them of their purses.

In 1672 the six lines of stages running in England caused a great disturbance in the minds of certain people, and a pamphlet was published urging the suppression of the coaches, for the reason that they made transportation so easy that gentlemen came to London on the smallest provocation, whereas before they would only make the journey when absolutely necessary; and then, too, their wives would make great efforts and accompany their husbands, for which purpose great expense for new clothes

and the like was entered into; and when in London the travelers attended the playhouses and got into habits of idleness and love of pleasure. The trips were, however, long and tiresome, the coaches heavy, lumbering vehicles, built with little skill or regard for comfort, and the roads were as yet unimproved. In 1678 the six-horse coach between Edinburgh and Glasgow, a distance of forty-four miles, made the round trip in six days.

The flying coaches of the time of Charles II. between London and the chief towns near by, ordinarily made fifty miles a day in summer and thirty in winter. The fare was twopence-halfpenny per mile in summer, and slightly more in winter,—the bad condition of the roads causing the falling off in speed and making traveling doubly hard; and many a time the poor horses helplessly floundered in the snow, upsetting the coach, and the entire company would have to wait in the midst of a drift until a rescuing party came along; or, sometimes the mud was so deep that the coach would get stuck, and remain at a standstill until a team of cattle could be brought from a neighboring farm to help the struggling horses.

In a work published a few months before the death of Charles the Second, the "Flying Coaches" are extolled as far superior to any similar vehicles ever known in the world. Their velocity is made the subject of special commendation, and triumphantly contrasted with the sluggish pace of the continental posts. But, with boasts like these was mingled the sound of complaint and invective. The interest of large classes had been unfavorably affected by the establishment of the new diligences, and as usual, many persons were, from mere stupidity and obstinacy, disposed to clamor against the innovation, simply because it was an innovation. It was vehemently argued that this mode of conveyance would be fatal to the breed of

horses, and to the noble art of horsemanship; that the Thames, which had long been an important nursery of seamen, would cease to be the chief thoroughfare from London up to Windsor, and down to Gravesend; that the saddlers and spurriers would be ruined by hundreds; that numerous inns at which mounted travelers had been in the habit of stopping would be deserted, and would no longer pay any rent; that the new carriages were too hot in summer, and too cold in winter; that the passengers were grievously annoyed by invalids and crying children; that the coach reached the inn so late that it was impossible to get supper, and started so early that it was impossible to get breakfast. On these grounds it was gravely recommended that no public coach should be permitted to have more than four horses, to start oftener than once a week, or to go more than thirty miles a day. It was hoped that if this regulation was adopted, all except the sick and the lame would return to the old mode of traveling. Petitions embodying such opinions as these were presented to the king in council, from several companies of the city of London, from several provincial towns, and from the justices of several counties.

The early English novelists give us many interesting details of the coaches of their day, which on some of the roads had arrived at the dignity of being called a "machine;" but this rapid vehicle of four miles an hour was not for common travelers; indeed, very genteel travelers were content with cheaper accommodations. There was a mode of transit which only cost a shilling a day to a passenger, and in conveying him from York to London (190 miles) did not occupy quite a fortnight. This was the conveyance of Roderick Random to the metropolis, and we may believe that the wagon and its occupants have been faithfully portrayed from Smollett's personal recollections.

The coach which Fielding's Parson Adams could outstrip in pace as he walked before it, brandishing his crab stick, was, in twenty or thirty years, to pass into a vehicle whose rapidity was somewhat dangerous upon roads very unscientifically made. Chatterton tells his sister that on his ride outside the stage from Bristol to London, the coachman complimented him upon his courage in sticking upon the roof without holding to the iron. A Prussian clergyman, Charles Moritz, traveling in England in 1782, for the most part on foot, being anxious to return to London, mounts the outside of a "post coach" at Leicester. To him it was a new situation. "I sat nearest the wheel, and the moment that we set off I fancied that I saw certain death await me." The machine seemed to fly; it was a miracle that they still stuck to the coach. "At last, the being continually in fear of my life became insupportable, and as we were going up a hill, and consequently proceeding rather slower than usual, I crept from the top of the coach and got snug in the basket."

The highwayman was especially connected with the stage coach in England for many years. He was in his palmiest days when Fielding ceased to write, and George III. began to reign. In 1761 the "flying highwayman" engrossed the conversation of most of the towns within twenty miles of London, with his three different horses—a gray, a sorrel and a black—and the literature of those days is full of their exploits.

The first coaches to be mounted on springs appeared in 1754, and in 1779 seats were added on the roof for outside passengers. As late as 1754 it was considered quick traveling to reach Manchester, one hundred and eighty-seven miles from London, in four and one-half days, and Edinburgh in ten days in summer and twelve days in winter.

It is claimed that the first regular coach in this country plied between Boston and Salem. Felt's History of

Salem says: "Boston, as early as 1716, had a carriage for light purpose to go and come from Newport, R. I., once a fortnight while the ways were passable." The first stage coach went out of Boston May 13, 1718, to Bristol Ferry, R. I.

The Boston *News Letter* of April 4, 1720, advertises: "Stage line from Boston to Bristol Ferry." The remainder of the journey to Newport was probably by a Rhode Island team. In 1736 the monopoly of the stage service between Newport and Boston was given to Rhode Island parties.

The term "stage" was used to indicate a change of horses; the wagons were covered, but lacked springs. In 1761 a public conveyance was put on the roads out of Boston by Benjamin Stavers of Portsmouth, N. H., and the following is a copy of his announcement in April, 1761:

"For the encouragement of travel between Portsmouth and Boston, a large stage chair, with two horses, well equipped, will be ready by Monday, the 20th inst., to set out from Mr. Stavers', innholder, at the sign of the Earl of Fairfax in this town for Boston, to perform once a week; to lodge at Ipswich the same night, from there through Medford to Charlestown Ferry, to tarry at Charlestown until Thursday morning; so returning to this town the next day, to set out again the morning following. It will be contrived to carry four passengers besides the driver. In case only two persons go they may be accommodated to carry things of bulk and value to make the third and fourth passengers. The price will be twelve shillings six pence, sterling, for each passenger from hence to Boston, and the same rate for conveyance back again, though under no obligation to return in the same week in the same manner. Those who would not be disappointed must enter their names at Mr. Stavers' on Saturdays, any time before nine o'clock in the evening, and pay one-half at entrance, and remainder at the end of the journey.

"As gentlemen and ladies are often at a loss for good accommodations for traveling from hence, and can't return in less than three weeks or a month, it is hoped that this undertaking will meet with suitable encouragement, as they will be wholly freed from the care and charge

of keeping chairs and horses, or returning them before they have finished their business."

In May, 1763, Stavers started the "Portsmouth Flying Coach," with two horses, to run from Boston through Salem and Newbury with accommodations for six inside passengers. The running time, however, was irregular, depending entirely on the state of the roads. For the purpose of saving the trouble of ferriage, there being no bridges at that early day, the stage and horses were kept at Charlestown.

The first stage for Providence was advertised by Thomas Sabin to leave Lamb's tavern, Boston, July 20, 1767. In 1769 it is announced that the "Providence coaches go twice a week from Providence to Boston, performing their respective stages in a day."

The first stage coach from Boston to New York was set up, leaving June 24, 1772, and intending to go once a fortnight. In the *Boston Evening Post* of July 6, patronage is solicited, and it is promised that "gentlemen and ladies who choose to encourage this new, useful and expensive undertaking may depend upon good usage, and that the coach will always put up at houses on the road where the best entertainment is provided." The proprietors promised to make it a weekly coach as soon as possible if encouraged in their great undertaking. Notice was given that the coach would leave on next trip July 13, and arrive at New York on the 25th, making thirteen days from one place to the other. But the experiment was not a success, as we find no trace of it in 1773.

Mills and Hicks' *British and American Register*, published at Boston for the year 1774, says:

"Between Boston and Providence, three stage coaches pass and repass twice a week." "Between Boston and Salem a chaise passes and repasses three times a week." "The Portsmouth chaise, which passes through Newbury, Ipswich and Salem, arrives at Boston on Wednesday evening, sets out again early on Friday morning."

An effort to start a stage from Boston to Worcester appears from an advertisement June 13, 1782, in the *Spy*, stating: "A gentleman of Boston, having a genteel coach and a span of horses, would be willing to be concerned with some trusty person, capable of driving a stage between Boston and Worcester." No one appears to have accepted this offer.

The first line of stages, a covered Jersey wagon without springs, was established between New York and Philadelphia in 1756, via Perth Amboy and Trenton, making the trip in three days. The following quaint advertisement of the line appears in the *Weekly Mercury* of March 8, 1759:

"Philadelphia Stage Wagon and New York Stage Boat perform their stages twice a week. John Butler, with his waggon, sets out on Mondays from his house at the sign of the 'Death of the Fox,' in Strawberry Alley, and drives the same day to Trenton Ferry, where Francis Holman meets him, and the passengers and goods being shifted into the waggon of Isaac Fitzrandolph, he takes them to the 'New Blazing Star,' to Jacob Fitzrandolph's, the same day, where Rubin Fitzrandolph, with a boat well suted, will receive them, and take them to New York that night; John Butler, returning to Philadelphia on Tuesday with the passengers and goods delivered to him by Francis Holman, will again set out for Trenton Ferry on Thursday, and Francis Holman, etc., will carry his passengers and goods with the same expedition as above to New York."

In 1766 a new line, modestly called the "Flying Machine," was started, to go through, during the summer months, in two days. Fare, three pence per mile, or twenty shillings for the whole route. In 1771 stage coaches ran between New York and Philadelphia in two days, for the fare of $4; outside passengers, twenty shillings each. But even in 1776 traveling seems to have been very slow between these two most important cities, as appears from the following advertisement:

"This is to give notice to the publick that the Stage waggons kept by John Burrowhill, on Elm street, in Philadelphia, and John Merse-

reaux, at the Blazing Star, near New York, intend to perform the journey from Philadelphia to New York in two days; also to continue seven months, viz.: From the 14th of April to the 14th of November, and the remaining five months of the year in three days. The waggons to be kept in good order, and good horses, with sober drivers. They purpose to set out from Philadelphia on Mondays and Thursdays, punctually at sunrise, and to be in Prince Town the same nights, and change passengers and return to New York and Philadelphia the following days. The passengers are desired to cross Powlass Hook Ferry the evening before. The waggon is not to stay after sunrise. Price, each passenger, from Powlass Hook to Prince Town, ten shillings; from thence to Philadelphia, ten shillings also; ferriage free. Three pence each mile, any distance between.

Any gentlemen or ladies that want to go to Philadelphia can go in the stage and be home in five days, and be two nights and one day in Philadelphia, to do business or to see the market days. All gentlemen and ladies who are pleased to favor us with their custom may depend on due attendance and civil usage by those humble servants.

JOHN MERSEREAUX,
JOHN BURROWHILL.

June, 1776.

Not until 1785 did a stage coach begin running between New York city and Albany, the New York legislature having that year passed an act giving to Isaac Vannick and others the exclusive privilege for a line of four-horse stages, at four pence per mile. In 1797 the mail stage coaches are advertised to leave New York city, northward and eastward, Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, and southward Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Stages left Jersey City for Philadelphia every morning except Saturday and Sunday, and the fare was six dollars, with a stop at Princeton for dinner.

Levi Pease of Shrewsbury, the original projector, and for some time the sole proprietor of the stages from Boston to New York, entered into the enterprise, not only not assisted, but discouraged by all his friends. The scheme was considered visionary and ruinous, and the most judicious regarded it as at least a century in

advance of the public wants. Said a solid man of Boston to Capt. Pease: "The time may come when a stage line to Hartford will pay, but not in your day." But with two convenient wagons he commenced business October 20, 1783; a wagon leaving from the sign of the Lamb in Boston (located at site of the present Adams House) every Monday morning at six o'clock, stopping over night at Martin's, in Northborough, passing through Worcester on Tuesday, reaching Rice's, in Brookfield, that night, Somers, Conn., and Hartford on Thursday; the other carriage, leaving Hartford at same time, reaching Boston in four days, the fare being four pence per mile. From Hartford a two-horse carriage made the entire trip without changing horses, and occupied the whole day to New Haven, passengers taking passage from New Haven to New York on board the sloops that plied between the two ports, and thus finishing their journey by water, the time of voyage depending on the weather and wind. Mr. Thomas remarks in the *Spy* of October 30: "Should these carriages be encouraged, it will be of great advantage to the public, as persons who have occasion to travel between, or to or from either of these places, may be accommodated on very reasonable terms, and will not have the trouble and expense of furnishing themselves with horses."

They were encouraged, and the enterprising proprietors personally acting as drivers and conductors, set about improving the accommodations and arrangements. The stages ran in fair weather and foul, in wind and snow, with passengers and without passengers, punctual as the stars in their course, and in two years the foundation of a successful enterprise had been established.

In 1786 coaches left Boston for Hartford from Levi Pease's inn, opposite the mall, every Monday and Thursday morning at five o'clock, reaching Worcester the first

day, Palmer the second day, Hartford the third day, and New York in three days more; this was the winter arrangement. In summer the stage ran three times a week, by which means (say the owners), "Those who take passage at Boston in the stage which sets out Monday morning may arrive in New York on the Thursday evening following." A letter referring to it says: "By this unparalleled speed a merchant may go to New York and return in less than ten days, which is truly wonderful." The advertisements declare that "It is the most convenient and expeditious way of traveling that can be had in America, and to render it the cheapest the proprietors have lowered the price from four cents to three cents per mile, with liberty for fourteen pounds baggage."

In July, 1788, Levi Pease announced that, after great expense and fatigue, he had completed a stage line from Boston to New York, and that the carriages, which had been both heavy and uneasy, had been hung on springs and would not fatigue more than a private coach. From May to November, three trips per week, and November to May, two trips being made.

The first regular post rider, expressman, newspaper and letter carrier from Boston to Fitchburg was Samuel Farrar of Concord, and he may justly be termed "the father of transportation between Boston and Fitchburg." By the *Massachusetts Gazette* and the *Boston Post-boy and Advertiser*, May 27, 1771, it appears that

"Samuel Farrar, rider from Boston to Fitchburg, passes through the following towns, and may be spoke with at the following places, viz.: At the Widow Frothingham's in Charlestown, Cambridge; Newell's in Menotomy, Buckman's in Lexington, Taylor's in Concord, White's in Acton, Whiting's in Littleton, Pierce's in Groton, Sartell's in Shirley, Stearns' in Lunenburg, Fuller's in Leominster, and Cowden's at Fitchburg, at any of which places gentlemen or others who will please to favour him with their commands shall have it gratefully acknowledged by their humble servant. S. FARRAR."

The persons whose names are mentioned in the card kept public houses in their respective towns.

Shattuck's History of Concord says: "Public stages were first run out of Boston into the country through Concord, in 1791, by Messrs. John Vose & Co." Wilder's History of Leominster says: "The first stage coach from Leominster to Boston was established by Jotham Johnson in 1790." (He was a brother of Asa Johnson, first postmaster of Leominster.) He continued in the business for several years, running a two-horse, clumsy, covered vehicle, hung on chains, for thorough-braces, making one trip per week. Whitney's History of Worcester County, published in 1793, says of Fitchburg: "From the northwest part of the Connecticut river the people travel much through this place on their way to Boston. They have a stage which goes and comes twice in a week."

I have been unable to find anything to confirm this statement in the publications of that date, Fitchburg not being anywhere mentioned in the stage lists, which in 1793 include the "Leominster Mail Stage, leaving Boston every Wednesday and Saturday at five A. M."

That year was also established the first line of stages between Boston and Groton, which later became the great stage center of this section. The *Columbian Centinel* of April 6, 1793, has the following:

"NEW LINE OF STAGES. A stage carriage drives from Robbins' tavern, at Charles River Bridge, on Monday and Friday of each week, passing through Concord and Groton, and arriving at Wyman's tavern in Ashley [Ashby] in the evening of the same day, and after exchanging passengers with the stage carriage from Walpole it returns on Tuesday and Saturday by the same route to Robbins'.

"The Charlestown carriage drives also from Robbins' on Wednesday in every week, and passing through Concord, arrives at Richardson's tavern, in Groton, on the evening of the same day, and then returns on Thursday to Robbins'.

"Another carriage drives from Richardson's tavern, in Groton, on

Monday in each week at six o'clock in the morning, and passing by Richardson's tavern, in Concord, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, arrives at Charlestown at three o'clock in the afternoon. From Charlestown, every Tuesday and Thursday at three P. M., and returns back as far as Richardson's tavern, in Concord, and from there the next Monday morning at eight A. M., running again to Charlestown; from there it leaves at six A. M. Saturday, and returns to Groton on the evening of the same day."

Mr. Winthrop's memoir of Hon. Nathan Appleton says: "At early dusk on an October evening in 1794, a fresh, vigorous, bright-eyed boy alighted from a stage coach in Quaker lane (now Congress street), Boston; he had been two days on the road from his home in the town of New Ipswich, N. H.; for the last of the two days the stage coach had brought him all the way from Groton, in Massachusetts, starting for that purpose at an early hour, having stopped at Concord for the passengers to dine, and trundling into Charlestown about the time the evening lamps were lighted. For his first day's journey there was no such expeditious conveyance. The Boston stage in those days did not go any further than Groton in that district. His father's farm horse served his turn for the first six or seven miles, his little brother of ten years having followed as far as Townsend to ride the horse back; from there he had trudged along to Groton on foot, with a bundle-handkerchief in his hand, which contained all his wearing apparel except what he had on his back."

June 15, 1793, notice appeared of the establishment of "a *daily* line of stages leaving Providence at 5 A. M., and arriving at Boston at two o'clock. Twenty-four excellent horses, six good coaches, and as many experienced drivers, are always provided. The horses are regularly changed at the half-way house at Walpole. Price between Boston and Providence only one dollar, which is one-half the customary price, and 3s. cheaper than any other

stage." The proprietor announced that he was "also determined, at the expiration of the present contract for conveying the mail from Providence to Boston, to carry it gratis, which will undoubtedly prevent any further underbidding by the envious. Twenty pounds of baggage free." The rival line of "Mail Stage Carriages" issued their advertisement of three trips per week, adding "Price for each passenger will be nine shillings only, and *less if any other person will carry them for that sum;* twenty-five pounds of baggage free."

Jotham Johnson announced in the *Columbian Informer*, published at Keene, N. H., February 4, 1795, that "In winter he would convey passengers in a covered sleigh from Boston to Charlestown, N. H., at three pence per mile, with fourteen pounds baggage gratis."

One summer, about 1795, he tried the experiment of running a weekly stage from Boston to Charlestown, N. H., leaving Boston at an early hour Wednesday, stopping over night at Leominster, reaching Keene Thursday evening, and Charlestown on Friday; returning, reaching Leominster Saturday evening, and leaving for Boston Monday morning. It caused much excitement in the towns along the line, but it was not a success. The roads were very poor and patronage not sufficient, and it was soon abandoned.

In 1800, we find a line of stage coaches made three trips per week between Boston and Worcester, taking the entire day for the journey of forty-four miles. About thirty years later, the projectors of the railroad promised an incredulous public that passengers should make the entire journey in from three to four hours. One hour is now sufficient for the "limited" trains to cover the same distance.

A Boston newspaper of 1802 announces, "Boston and New York Mail Stage starts from King's Inn, Market

Square, every day (Sundays excepted); summer establishment leaving Boston at ten A. M., arriving at Worcester same evening at eight. Leave Worcester at three o'clock next morning, arrive at Hartford at eight P. M. Leave Hartford at three o'clock next morning, arrive at Stamford at eight P. M. Leave Stamford at three o'clock next morning, reaching New York at noon, same day."

From the White Horse tavern, Boston, went forth the Albany mail stage, passing through Worcester, Brookfield and Northampton to Albany, every Monday and Thursday morning at six, and arriving at Albany every Thursday and Monday at noon, thus occupying seventy-eight hours in a trip which is now accomplished in not far from six hours. Much of this journey, however, was through an inhospitable wilderness, over rough and almost impassable roads, and the experience was a most trying one for the passenger, especially in wintry weather. The route taken to Springfield was over what was called the "western post-road," through the towns of Watertown, Waltham, Weston, East Sudbury, Sudbury, Marlborough, Northborough, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Leicester, Spencer, Brookfield, Palmer and Wilbraham. The distance was rated as one hundred and one miles.

Thomas' Almanac for 1801 says: "Leominster and Lancaster stage leaves Boston Wednesday and Saturday at sunrise, arriving at Leominster at three o'clock, and returning to Boston on Monday and Thursday, arriving there at five P. M." In 1802 it was considered "expeditious traveling" to reach Washington, D. C., from New York city, in a stage seating six persons, in three days; and to Albany, two days and one night were very painfully disposed of for a fare of eight dollars. The *Independent Chronicle* of April 21, 1803, says:

"Leominster and Greenfield Mail Stage leaves Leominster on Thursdays at six A. M., arrives at Greenfield at seven P. M., and returns

Saturday at five A. M., arriving at Leominster at 7 P. M., via Fitchburg, Westminster, Templeton, Gerry, Athol, New Salem, Wendell, Montague and Greenfield, over the turnpike."

The *Boston Patriot* of same date gives a stage line from Boston to Leominster, via Littleton to Concord, once a week, and via Westford once a week, leaving Boston at five A. M. Wednesday and Saturday, arriving at Concord at eleven A. M., stopping for dinner, leaving at one P. M., arriving at Leominster at seven P. M.

Daniel Webster, in his autobiography, says that in 1804 he hired a seat in a country sleigh that had come down to Boston market, for the journey to his home, adding, "Stage coaches no more ran into the center of New Hampshire at this time than they ran to Baffin's Bay."

Robert B. Thomas, in 1807, says: "Lunenburg stage leaves Boston Thursdays at five A. M., arrives at Lunenburg at five P. M., and returning Tuesdays at six A. M., arrives at Boston at six P. M."

The following advertisement of the well-known "Fall River Line," from the *Boston Patriot* of August 22, 1809, gives a good idea of the means of communication enjoyed at that time:

"TRUTH—TO THE PUBLIC. The best way from Boston to New York, and from New York to Boston, is by the way of Newport, that remarkably healthy and delightful place, so pleasant and agreeable to travelers, (Norwich way to the contrary, notwithstanding). The proprietors of the Commercial Line of stages from Boston to Newport are desirous of making the traveling and conveyance as easy and as expeditious as possible to all those doing business, as well as to those that travel for pleasure; they are determined to spare no pains in accomplishing this object.

"With a leading breeze, the packets are generally from fifteen to twenty-two hours from New York to Newport, and stages are from ten to eleven hours going to Boston. Frequently gentlemen leave New York in the morning and arrive at Boston the next day, at night. The roads

are good and have excellent accommodations; the stages and horses are as good as any in America.

"The packets belonging to Newport, and kept at New York and Newport, are thought to be the best in the known world, and are so acknowledged. They are fast sailers, furnished with elegant accommodations, and with every convenience that can be wanted.

"The proprietors of the Commercial Line of stages have established wagons to go through to Boston and Newport twice a week; they leave Boston Tuesday and Friday, and arrive at Newport Monday and Thursday; leave Newport and arrive at Boston same time."

The *Independent Chronicle* of May 1, 1809, gives notice of Boston and Brattleborough stage leaving Boston Thursdays and Saturdays at five A. M., arrives at Westminster at eight P. M., and Brattleborough the next day; returning, leaves Brattleborough Tuesday and Saturday at four A. M., arrives at Westminster at eight P. M., and Boston at eight P. M. on Wednesday and Monday, the route being via West Cambridge, Lexington, Concord, Stow, Bolton, Lancaster, Leominster, Fitchburg, Westminster, Templeton, Phillipston, Athol, Orange, Warwick, Winchester, Hinsdale, N. H., a distance of ninety-six miles. The Boston, Lancaster and Fitchburg stage left Boston Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday morning, and Fitchburg Monday, Wednesday and Friday morning at five A. M.; fare, Boston to Lancaster, $1.50; Boston to Fitchburg, $2.12½.

John Melish, a Scotchman, made a tour of the United States in 1795. An account of his travels was published in 1812. The following extract gives a picture of those days:

"Having taken my leave of a number of kind friends in Boston, I engaged passage by the mail stage for New York, and was called to take my place at two o'clock in the morning. It is the practise here for the driver to call on the passenger before setting out, and it is attended with a considerable degree of convenience to them, particularly when they set out early in the morning. The mail stages here are altogether different in construction from the mail coaches in Britain. They are

long machines, hung on leather braces, with three seats across, of a sufficient length to accommodate three persons each, who all sit with their faces towards the horses. The driver sits under cover, without any division between him and the passengers; and there is room for a person to sit on each side of him. The driver, by the post-office regulations, must be a white man, and he has charge of the mail, which is placed in a box below his seat; there is no guard. The passengers' luggage is put below the seats, or tied on behind the stage. They put nothing on the top, and they take no outside passengers. The stages are slightly built, and the roof suspended on pillars, with a curtain to be let down or folded up at pleasure. The conveyance was easy, and in summer very agreeable, but it must be excessively cold in winter. I took my place on the fore seat beside the driver. It surprised me to observe how well-informed this class of people are in America. In my journey through the New England States, I was highly gratified by the prompt and accurate answers which they made to my questions; and I resolved to follow the same plan of obtaining information throughout my tour."

The *Boston Patriot* of Wednesday, May 26, 1810, announces a new arrangement of the old Concord and Leominster Mail Stage: "Leave Boston every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at five A. M., passing the following towns: Cambridge, West Cambridge, Lexington, north part of Lincoln, Concord, south part of Acton, Stow, Bolton, Lancaster, Leominster, south part of Fitchburg, Westminster, Gardner, Templeton, Gerry, arriving at Athol same evening, and Brattleborough the next day at one P. M."

In 1811 the Concord, Harvard and Winchendon stage commenced leaving Boston Wednesdays and Saturdays, at seven A. M., passing through Concord over the old "Union Turnpike," the old Wetherbee tavern in Harvard being the half-way house from Concord, where horses were changed, Shirley, Lunenburg, Fitchburg, Ashburnham, arriving at Winchendon the same evening, the Wednesday stage going no further than Fitchburg.

In the *Worcester Spy* of April 12, 1820, Josiah Lane announces that he has sold out his route from Worcester

via Fitchburg to Ashburnham to Charles Stearns of Leominster, who would continue the business. Only one trip per week was made, and the principal support came from the subscriptions to the Worcester weekly newspapers. Mr. Stearns continued this route for many years. The conveyance was a small covered vehicle, accommodating a few passengers. The advertisement referred to has the following: "And he [Mr. Stearns] is recommended by the selectmen of Leominster to the patronage of the public as a man worthy of their confidence and trust." In the same issue of the *Spy*, Michar R. Ball, (the father of Rev. George S. Ball of Upton, a member of this society,) who was a saddler by trade and a man of much enterprise, has a card, dated April 3, 1820, announcing a new line, "From Leominster to Worcester, through Shirley Village, Harvard, Bolton, Berlin, Northborough and Shrewsbury." It has been claimed that he ran the first line of stages between Fitchburg and Worcester, but the evidence at hand does not appear to sustain the claim. He afterwards removed to Groton, as we find by Green's History that he commenced in 1824 to drive stage from Groton to Amherst, N. H. Later he was one of the owners of the Keene and Worcester stages, passing through Fitchburg.

Col. Ivers Phillips recalls the time when the only public conveyance between Fitchburg and Boston was a two-horse stage, which, leaving Fitchburg Monday morning, returned on Saturday evening by the way of Lunenburg. Leominster and Lunenburg being then places of more importance and business than Fitchburg, the stages came to them two or three times per week, but only the Saturday stage came through to Fitchburg. For many years the only banks in this section were at Worcester. The first bank nearer to Fitchburg was established at Bank Village, in New Ipswich, N. H., and Mr. Abel Downe

started a coach to accommodate the bank and Appleton academy.

A writer thus describes the coaches of 1821: "The coach was a rudely constructed carriage, with a body with sharp corners, hung on thorough-braces of leather, with a foot-board for the driver's feet, and a trunk-rack behind, firmly bolted to the axletrees." Soon after this time the new mode of hanging the foot-board and trunk-rack was invented, by which they were both hung from the body of the coach, and for which a patent was granted.

Various forms of vehicles were later used. Abraham Russell, of Cumberland, Md., introduced a coach carrying sixteen passengers, but it was found to be too cumbersome, and was followed by a Trenton coach much lighter in construction, and almost egg-shape. This gave way to the Troy coach, carrying nine inside and two outside passengers; but the famous Concord coach, first built at Concord, N. H., in 1827, was found to be far in advance of any of the others, and soon became the almost universal traveling coach until the days of the railroads. It has been pronounced the "most perfect wagon for travel ever built."

The *American Statesman*, of Boston, September 14, 1824, gives Boston and Brattleborough stage line, via Fitchburg and Hinsdale, ninety-six miles; leaving Boston Thursday and Saturday at five A. M., arriving at Westminster at eight P. M.; returning, arriving in Boston Wednesday and Monday at three P. M.

In 1825, the *American Stage Register* says, the Boston, Concord, Harvard, Fitchburg and Winchendon accommodation stage leaves Boston on Tuesdays and Thursdays at eight A. M., arriving at Fitchburg at five P. M., and on Saturday leaving Boston at five A. M., running through to Winchendon, arriving there at six P. M.; returning, leaving Winchendon on Fridays at six A. M., and Fitch-

burg Monday, Wednesday and Friday at eight A. M., arriving in Boston at five P. M.; passing through Lexington, Boxborough, Sterling, Lunenburg and Ashburnham. Fare: Boston to Concord, $1.00; to Harvard, $1.50; to Lunenburg, $1.75; to Fitchburg, $2.00; to Winchendon, $2.75. Proprietors: Shepard, Brown & Company, Boston; J. Wakefield, Concord, and D. Putnam, Fitchburg. In that year the Ashburnham and Worcester mail stage is given as leaving Ashburnham on Tuesday at eight A. M., arriving in Worcester at five P. M.; returning, leaving on Wednesday at eleven A. M., reaching Ashburnham at nine P. M., passing through West Boylston, Sterling, Lancaster and Leominster and Fitchburg. The fare is given as $1.50. Charles Stearns, proprietor.

The *Boston Advertiser* says:

"In 1827, when careful inquiries for ascertaining the amount of travel and transportation were made on the Providence and Western routes, preparatory to a determination of the question of the practicability of maintaining railroads, it was reported that the number of passengers conveyed that year between Boston and Providence by the Commercial and Citizens daily line of stage coaches, was 24,800, and that in the same year 1706 tons of merchandise were transported between the two cities in baggage wagons, and 3400 in sea vessels, passing around Cape Cod, a distance of two hundred and ten miles, the distance by turnpike being but forty-two miles."

The only inland navigation in the state was on the Middlesex canal, on which was a packet-boat, which left Charlestown for Chelmsford every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, returning on Monday, Wednesday and Friday.

A distinguished English traveler in 1828 says: "Seven and one-half miles per hour from Boston to Providence, which I record as being considerably the quicker rate of traveling we met with anywhere in America."

January 1, 1828, Fitchburg and Leominster, Lancaster and Boston accommodation stage left Fitchburg Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, arriving at Boston at six

P. M. Returning, leaving Boston on alternate days at nine A. M., reaching Fitchburg at three P. M. The route was through Bolton, Stow, Waltham, Watertown and Cambridge. Another line, known as the Boston, Lancaster and Fitchburg accommodation stage, left Doolittle's, Brattle street, Boston, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, at nine A. M., reaching Fitchburg at six P. M., returning, leaving A. Sheldon's tavern, Fitchburg, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, at seven A. M., arriving in Boston at three P. M.; proprietor, Fitch of Lancaster; the fare from Boston to Fitchburg, $2.12½; to Lancaster, $1.50. The proprietors announce that they have furnished themselves with good horses and carriages, careful and obliging drivers, and are determined that there shall be nothing wanting on their part to make the travelers comfortable.

Badger and Porter's *Stage Register*, in 1829, has:

"Mail stage leaving Boston for Fitchburg Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, at two A. M. (via Cambridge, Waltham, Lancaster and Leominster,) and from Fitchburg to Athol, where the line divided, one going to Brattleborough and one to Greenfield, both to Albany, arriving in Albany on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday evenings, (the stages from Albany reaching Boston at same time,) also a stage for Fitchburg, Keene and Rutland, Vermont, leaving Boston Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, at four A. M. Also mail stage, leaving Boston for Fitchburg, through to Bennington, to Albany Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 2 A. M.; due in Boston Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday evenings. Fitchburg Accommodation stage leaving Boston Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 9 A. M., due in Fitchburg at three P. M.; returning, leaving Fitchburg Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at ten A. M.; due in Boston at six P. M. Also another leaving Boston at seven A. M. on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and due in Fitchburg at three P. M. Returning, leaving Fitchburg on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at six A. M., due in Boston at two P. M."

The first stage line to Lowell, by the way of Groton, was established in 1829. The *Groton Herald*, May 1, 1830, announces:

"Nashua, Groton and Fitchburg Accommodation stages leave Nashua every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at 6.30 A. M., through Hollis, Pepperell, Groton and Lunenburg, arriving at Fitchburg at one P. M. Leave Fitchburg Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at seven A. M., arrive at Nashua at four P. M. Fare to Lowell, one dollar; to Nashua, one dollar and fifty cents, and to Boston one dollar and seventy-five cents. All baggage at the risk of owner; George Flint, proprietor, from Nashua to Groton, and John Holt from Groton to Fitchburg."

In 1829 the Albany coach via Greenfield and Troy left Boston Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and arrived in Albany on the third day to dine, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles; fare, six dollars. The "Mail Line" to Albany via Northampton left Boston Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and arrived at Albany the next days at seven P. M.; distance, one hundred and sixty-nine miles; fare to Northampton, four dollars and fifty cents; to Albany, eight dollars and seventy-five cents; the extra fare by the "Mail" being on account of the quicker time. The stage fare between Boston and Worcester was two dollars, and it was currently believed that if a railroad was ever built, the fare would not be over fifty cents. The "Boston and New York Mail Coach" left Boston daily at one P. M., arriving at Hartford the next morning at six, in New Haven at two P. M., and in New York at six P. M. the second day.

The stage fare from Boston to Portland, Me., was eight dollars. The extent of the stage business is shown by the fact that in 1829 there were seventy-seven lines starting from Boston. The number had been increased to one hundred and six in 1832, and they were all driving a flourishing business.

In the *Boston Transcript* of September, 1830, we find the advertisement of the "New York and Boston Steam Packet Line, only forty miles land carriage; from Providence to New York daily (Sundays excepted); fare, five dollars. Stages leave Boston daily at five A. M., and

reach the packets before their hour of starting, four P. M., dining on board; meals extra; dinner, fifty cents; breakfast and tea, thirty-eight cents." In October the fare was increased to six dollars, and land carriage is stated to be forty-three miles.

Capt. Basil Hall, in his "Travels in North America," in 1828 and 1829, gives a very graphic description of a stage ride from Albany, over the present route of the Boston & Albany railroad. After describing the scenery, the ravines, the gorges, and high, rocky hills, the winding of the rapid river, he said: "These Yankees talk of constructing a railroad over this route; as a practical engineer, I pronounce it simply impossible." But, only a few years later, the "iron horse" was smoothly ascending the mountains, several hundred feet rise in twenty miles, snorting up the heavy grades, notwithstanding the English traveler and engineer had pronounced it an impossibility. He also says:

"There is no posting in any part of the United States; travelers must either go by the public stage or take their own horses and carriages; or they may hire an extra, which is the nearest approach to posting in this country. On the road between Albany and Niagara, where there is much travel, an extra exclusive, as it is called, may be hired to go at whatever rate, up to a certain limit, the traveler pleases. I made arrangements with the proprietor of one of the regular stages for a special stage entirely for myself and family, all the way from Albany to Niagara, three hundred and twenty-four miles, for one hundred and fifteen dollars. It was stipulated that we might go the whole distance in three days, or, if agreeable, we might take three weeks. When we chose to make any deviation from the direct stage line, another carriage was to be hired, and paid for by us. In no part of America are there any such facilities for traveling as was found on the road in question."

His description is a very interesting picture of the country and means of travel at that date.

The *Fitchburg Gazette* of December 29, 1831, has the following:

"The subscriber gives notice to all persons desiring conveyance from Fitchburg, through Ashby, New Ipswich, Mason Village, Wilton, Milford, to Amherst, N. H., or are willing to entrust him with the transaction of any business, that he shall start from Fitchburg at 9 A. M. Tuesday, and from Amherst on Wednesday at half-past seven A. M. each week; that application for seats can be made to E. S. Doolittle and Harvey Alden, the respective keepers of the two hotels in Fitchburg, and at Kimball's Hotel in Amherst.

NOAH ANDREWS."

The *Fitchburg Gazette* of August 9, 1831, says: "During the past week the enterprising proprietors of the Citizens' Line of stages have added another team to their line, making a daily line of it; this is in addition to the line leaving Boston at six A. M. on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays; arriving here at four P. M. In either of these stages the traveler will find a commodious seat. The gentlemen connected with this line are prompt and obliging, and their horses and coaches need no compliment." The same paper of January 17, 1832, says: "Business has been so good that daily communication with Boston was much needed, and a fair prospect was opened for its continued increase."

The *Gazette* of February 21 says: "Three years ago an accommodation stage arrived three times a week, from Boston, but no stage passed through the town. Now there are two stages running through the town to Keene, one to Brattleborough, one to Worcester, three to Boston, one to Lowell, one to Concord, one to Amherst, N. H."

The *Gazette*, May 28, announces, "A new line of stages, leaving Alden's Nashua River Hotel Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, at eleven A. M., on arrival of the stage from Keene and Winchendon, and arrive at Lowell at four P. M.; T. A. Staples, proprietor, H. L. Lawrence, driver."

The *Keene Sentinel*, in 1832, has the following: "Fitchburg and Keene stages leave Boston daily at five

A. M., with frequent relays of six horses the whole distance. Better fed and disciplined horses, more accommodating drivers, and more convenient and elegant coaches, are not met on any of our long-established routes. All of the lines, we have no doubt, are prompt in their arrangements, but we can confidently speak of this line, which by their great velocity of speed have brought Keene so near to the metropolis of New England."

March 5, 1832, the following advertisement appears: "Boston, Fitchburg, Brattleborough and Albany daily stages, except Saturday, leave Boston at four A. M., and arrive at Brattleborough that evening."

The number who traveled in those days, either for business or pleasure, was comparatively small, and when a man traveled, he was supposed to be very forehanded, or else that he represented some very wealthy institution or corporation. The usual price for carrying passengers on the old coaches was from six to ten cents per mile, according to the speed and accommodations. If a person had to ride on the roof of the coach, when there were seats for from nine to fifteen persons, he could go for six cents a mile. If he was an inside passenger, while there were accommodations for twelve, he must pay ten cents a mile. In the dead of winter, it was much pleasanter to be an inside passenger; but on a warm June day, when the cool breezes came, it was much pleasanter to be an outsider. Whenever the coach stopped for meals, the passenger had to pay eighteen and three-fourths cents for breakfast or supper, and twenty-five cents for his dinner. If he wanted a stimulating beverage, he had to pay six cents for a glass of French brandy, three cents for a glass of gin or Jamaica rum, and two cents for a glass of whiskey. If he purchased a cigar, he generally paid one cent for one made of domestic tobacco, or three cents if he took a warranted Havana cigar.

The *Gazette* of January 3, 1832, says: "Mr. Estabrook, agent at Keene, has long been familiar with this employment, and he urged the first stage through Fitchburg to Keene, and has suggested many improvements since." The same paper, on the 21st of February of that year, referring to Keene stages via Fitchburg, says: "The hills of this route are not so frequent and so difficult of ascent as to be wearisome, nor the valleys so extended and so large as to be monotonous. Nature seems to have aided the schemes of designing men in providing the basis and materials for excellent roads, which (in the very worst seasons) are never so bad as scarcely to retard at all the hurrying progress of the crowded coaches."

Shattuck's History of Concord says: "There are now (1833) an average of forty stages which arrive and depart weekly, employing sixty horses between Boston and Groton, and carrying about three hundred and fifty passengers,—one hundred and fifty having passed in one day."

In those days, when travelers met with people on the highway, both saluted one another with a certain dignified and formal courtesy. All of the children were regularly taught at school "to make their manners" to strangers. The salute was a respect for age and authority, which was then taught to the young. To salute travelers was as well a duty as a decency. A child who did not "make his manners" to a stranger on the high road was deemed a low fellow; a stranger who did not acknowledge this civility was esteemed of no respectability. It may be remarked that men of the highest rank in those days were particular in their attentions to all, especially to children, and the emphasis of a stranger's courtesy was generally the measure of his station.

The decadence of this old highway politeness is thus explained by a writer of these days: "When people plod-

ded along at the rate of two to four miles per hour, everybody had time to be polite, but with the rush of steam and electricity, tall walking and tall talking are the vogue. It first subsided into a vulgar nod, half-ashamed and half-impudent, and then, like the pendulum of a dying clock, totally ceased, with the day of powder, queues, cocked hats, and broad brims, white-top boots, knee-breeches and shoe-buckles, symbols of a generation that had passed away."

The *Gazette* of March 12, 1833, has the following:

"A daily line of stages from Keene, N. H., to Worcester, leaving Col. Harrington's Eagle Hotel, Keene, N. H., Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at six A. M., and Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at four A. M., and arriving at Worcester at five P. M.; returning every morning, except Saturday, at seven A. M., and arriving at Keene at six P. M., connecting with day line direct to Walpole, Chester, Rutland, Burlington, Montreal and Quebec, and the daily line to Charlestown, Royalston and Montpelier, passing through Fitzwilliam, Winchendon, Ashburnham, Fitchburg, Leominster, Sterling, West Boylston, to Worcester, returning the same route. Proprietors, M. R. Ball, O. Patch, S. Wheeler and others."

The *American Traveller* of August 2, 1833, contains the following advertisement, with the heading in bold, black letters:

"THROUGH FROM BOSTON TO NEW YORK IN TWENTY-SIX HOURS.—Stages will leave Wilde's, Elm street, Monday and Thursday at three o'clock A. M., for Norwich, Conn., to intersect with the steamboat 'General Jackson' at five o'clock P. M., and arrive in New York early the next morning, in season to connect with the boat for Philadelphia. Under the present arrangement, this route is as quick as any from the city, and is acknowledged to be much the most safe and pleasant. The proprietors have also studied the convenience of the traveler, so far as to do away the changing of coaches and drivers so often as formerly. One change of each to Norwich will suffice. They pledge themselves the above shall be strictly adhered to; all they ask in return is a trial of their pledge and speed."

A comparison of this tiresome journey of over a day with the present comfortable trip of only five hours,

shows the great change in the mode and time of travel which has taken place in the last sixty years. The rivalry between the stage lines in those days was very keen. The Tremont Mail Stage Company, between Boston and Providence, in its bid for public patronage, said in the *Traveller:*

"Stages leave Boston every morning at five, and Providence at seven o'clock. Also, steamboat mail leaves Providence every day on the arrival of the boats, and arrives in Boston from one to three hours in advance of the principal part of the stages of the Citizens' line.

N. B. It will be seen by reference to several papers of the city that the Citizens' Stage Company have broken out with a new advertisement, purporting that they are running the only stages from this city to Providence, to connect with the boats, evidently designed to give the impression in full that the Tremont Mail Stage Company had been beaten off the route, which had reinstated them in full possession of the whole line, and given them another opportunity to monopolize and impose upon passengers, as has been their custom at all times when a good, wholesome opposition has not kept them within proper bounds. As they have practiced such a course of deception upon us so long, we pay no regard to such foul-tongued imposition, other than to say that we have made very large additions to our former stock, which enables us to run more regular, with much better stock and coaches, and in less time to and from the boats, on an average, than any other line on the route."

The Union line announced that it was

"Slow and sure, but always on time; fare only two dollars; *no racing allowed.* The proprietors of this line boast not of their speed, though in this respect not inferior to any other. When passengers wish to proceed at a faster than the usual rate, the teams are driven through in less than six hours, by skillful and obliging drivers, who never fail to please. Stages leave Brigham's, Hanover street, at five o'clock every morning, except Sunday, and on that day at nine A. M. The accommodation stage leaves same hour every day but Sunday, at eleven A. M."

Charles Sumner, writing in February, 1834, says:

"We started from Boston at half-past three o'clock Monday morning, with twelve passengers and their full complement of baggage on board, and with six horses. The way was very dark, so that, though I

rode with the driver, it was some time before I discovered that we had six horses. Light overtook us at Newton Falls, about ten miles from the city; breakfasted at Natick, sixteen miles, part of us; then, for thirty miles, rode in a crazy wagon; after that I rode sixteen miles alone in a gig, driving a horse that Rosinante would not have owned as a kinsman, over roads almost impassable to the best of animals. Every step my horse took was caused by a blow from my whip. It was thus I rode, literally working my passage as much as he who drove the horse on the canal. My shoulder is lame from whipping the poor brute. I arrived at Thompson, the first town we enter in Connecticut, about three o'clock P. M., about sixty miles from Boston. Here we dined and again started weary on our way, with forty miles of heavy traveling before us. Changed horses every sixteen miles. The moon was up, making the road less gloomy than it otherwise would have been; but even this deserted us before we arrived at Hartford, which was not until three o'clock Tuesday morning, having been on the road twenty-three hours. I sat with the driver all the time. The cold was benumbing during that night, so much so that the experienced driver complained. At eleven o'clock A. M. started from Hartford for New Haven, route of forty miles, where we arrived at eight o'clock in the evening."

From New Haven to New York he went by steamboat, and thence to Baltimore by boat and rail; from Baltimore to Washington by stage, taking from half-past eight A. M. until night to cover the thirty-eight miles of distance. This was Charles Sumner's first visit to Washington, and the following, from one of his letters, is of interest:

"Calhoun will speak to-morrow. I shall probably hear him, and he will be the last man I shall ever hear speak in Washington. I probably shall never come here again. I have little or no desire to ever come here again in any capacity. Nothing that I have ever seen of politics has ever made me look upon them with any feeling other than loathing."

An American traveler in Scotland relates the following unique experience of the division of travel into first, second and third class: He contracted for a "first class passage" in a stage coach going up in the mountains at a charge of two pounds. On the trip he noticed that a

"second class passenger," who had paid only one pound fare, and a "third class passenger," who had paid ten shillings, were riding in the same coach and enjoying the same privileges as himself. He naturally failed to see where the difference came between the "classes," and considered that he had been imposed on, until the coach reached the foot of a long and very steep hill, when the horses stopped and the driver called out: "First class passengers keep your seats; second class passengers get out and walk; third class passengers get out and push." He adds, "You can rest assured I rode in state to the top of that hill."

In 1834 there was the "Boston and Albany Line of stages, via Fitchburg, through in two days," Horace Brown being the agent in Boston; he was also the agent for the lines through Bolton, Lancaster, Leominster, Fitchburg and Keene. Fare at this time, Boston to New York city, was announced at eight dollars. In 1834 there was a steamboat, "The Herald," running on the Merrimac river from Lowell to Nashua, N. H., for conveyance of passengers.

The fifty years from 1784 to 1834 may be described as the "era of the stage coach" in the United States.

Commencing in 1802, for three years the national government ran a line of stages between Philadelphia and New York city, carrying mail and passengers, netting a profit of twelve thousand dollars. The building of railroads suggested the transfer of mails from the stage lines; but a good idea of what the new railroads were is shown by the protest entered by them, in 1835, to the condition in the mail contracts, requiring a schedule time of thirteen miles per hour, between New York and Philadelphia, as being too fast!

The Fitchburg Directory of 1835 has the following list of stages:

Boston, Fitchburg and Keene Mail stage, leaving Boston every day, Saturdays excepted, at two A. M., arrives at Fitchburg at half-past ten A. M., and Keene at seven P. M.; leaves Keene every day, Sunday excepted, at four A. M., arrives at Fitchburg at half-past eleven A. M., and Boston at seven P. M. Fare, Boston to Fitchburg, one dollar and fifty cents; Fitchburg to Keene, one dollar and fifty cents.

Boston, Lancaster and Fitchburg, accommodation, arrives from Boston Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at four P. M.; leaves Fitchburg Monday, Wednesday and Friday at seven A. M.; arrives at Boston at two P. M.; fare, Fitchburg to Boston, two dollars.

Fitchburg and Worcester Mail stage (intersecting with the Keene and Lowell stages), leaves Worcester Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at seven A. M., and arrives at Fitchburg at half-past ten A. M.; leaves Fitchburg Monday, Wednesday and Friday at half-past eleven A. M.; arrives at Worcester at four P. M.; fare, one dollar and twenty-five cents.

Fitchburg, Groton and Lowell Mail stages, leave Lowell Monday, Wednesday and Friday at seven A. M.; leave Fitchburg the following days at half-past eleven A. M.; arrive at Lowell at four P. M.; fare, one dollar and fifty cents.

Lowell and Springfield Mail stages, leave Lowell Monday, Wednesday and Friday at three A. M.; arrive at Fitchburg at eight A. M., Springfield at seven P. M.; leave Springfield the following days at two A. M.; arrive at Fitchburg at two P. M., Lowell at eight P. M.; fare to Lowell, one dollar and fifty cents; to Springfield, three dollars.

Ashburnham and Worcester Post, leaves Fitchburg every Tuesday at nine A. M., and arrive from Worcester the following day at three P. M.

Stage drivers mentioned are, Locke Woodward, Leonard Day, Timothy Underwood and J. Whitcomb. Stage proprietor, Aaron Flower; stage agent, Walter Johnson.

The stage agent, now an obsolete functionary, was a man of much consequence and was established in many taverns as a necessary, and almost immovable, piece of bar-room furniture.

Torrey's History, in 1835, says: "The town has daily communication by means of mail stages with Boston, Keene and Lowell; stages departing three times a week for Springfield and Worcester, and returning on alternate

days. Accommodation stages also pass daily between this place and Boston." We find the following advertisement:

"FITCHBURG, LOWELL AND BOSTON RAILROAD LINE.—Through in five and one-half hours, and no mistakes. Leave Fitchburg Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at one P. M., through Lunenburg, Groton, Westford, North Chelmsford, to Lowell, in season for the five o'clock train of cars for Boston, Andover and Haverhill; arrive at Boston the same evening at half-past six o'clock; returning, leave Boston Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays at seven A. M., and arrive at Fitchburg at one P. M.

"At Fitchburg the stages intersect with stages for Ashburnham, Winchendon, Brattleborough and Albany; also for Leominster, Sterling, West Boylston and Worcester. Passengers by this route will find fine horses and coaches, and careful and obliging drivers, with reasonable fare; so the traveling public will find it for their ease and comfort to give the proprietors a liberal share of patronage.

For the proprietors,

JOB B. WEBBER."

Lowell, February 6, 1840.

In the lists of stages published in Boston Directory of 1842, we find:

"Albany line, via Fitchburg, Keene, Burlington, Brattleborough and Greenfield, leaving Boston daily, except Sunday, at four A. M. Fitchburg Accommodation, via Lancaster, leaving Boston Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, at eight A. M."

Fitchburg and Boston Accommodation stages and Railroad line advertises, August 20, 1844:

"Leaving Fitchburg Monday, Wednesday and Friday at one P. M., via Lunenburg, Groton, Littleton, Acton and Concord, being the best route to Concord. Office at Putnam's Fitchburg Hotel. Thomas A. Staples, proprietor; H. L. Lawrence, driver."

In the Boston Directory of 1844 appears the following:

"The Boston & Fitchburg railroad terminates in the center of that town; is about forty-five miles in length, and is now being constructed. It has been completed to Waltham, and it is calculated that the whole road will be finished in the autumn of this year."

In the Directory of 1846 we find the following:

"The first passenger train for Fitchburg left Warren bridge on Wednesday last at seven A. M., and reached that town, forty-nine miles from Boston, at half-past nine, stopping at the way stations."

One of our prominent citizens, speaking to the writer of his first arrival in this city, in 1846, by stage from New Hampshire, describes the busy scene as he remembers it: "The whole square opposite the Fitchburg Hotel, filled with stages of the various lines, running from here north and west in connection with the railroad, then just completed, gave to the town an appearance of great activity, and made it very attractive to the visitor."

In common with the other towns of New England, a great change occurred in Fitchburg in consequence of the construction of railroads. Many people recall the days of four, six and eight horse loads of the products of the farm, which passed through the town on their way to Boston, returning with groceries and other necessaries. The roads were sometimes filled with teams, and often the noon hour saw a long line of wagons drawn up before the taverns. In 1846, the following were the stages leaving Fitchburg:

Keene, via Ashburnham, Winchendon, Fitzwilliam and Troy, at ten A. M. G. E. Hall and A. Nicholas, drivers.

Keene, via Ashby, Rindge, Fitzwilliam and Troy, at ten A. M. C. Whitcomb and H. Hodskin, drivers.

Keene, via Ashby, New Ipswich, Jaffrey and Marlborough, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at ten A. M. C. W. Fling, driver.

Lowell and Nashua, via Lunenburg and Groton, Monday, Wednesday and Friday at one P. M.; Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at four P. M. Mr. Fuller, driver.

Athol, via Westminster, Gardner, Templeton and Phillipston, Monday, Wednesday and Friday, four P. M. S. Carleton, driver.

Winchendon, via Ashburnham, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at four P. M. L. Lakin, driver.

Peterborough, N. H., Monday, Wednesday and Friday at ten A. M. George D. Hurlburt, driver.

Worcester, via Leominster, Sterling and West Boylston, Monday,

Wednesday and Friday at four P. M., Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at one P. M. C. D. Gale, driver.

Brattleborough, via Westminster, Gardner, Templeton, Phillipston, Athol, North Orange, Warwick, Winchester, Hinsdale, at ten A. M. S. Wood, driver.

Greenfield, via Westminster, South Gardner, Templeton, Phillipston, Athol, South Orange, Ervingsville, Erving and Montague, at ten A. M. S. Carleton, driver.

Jaffrey, N. H., via Ashburnham and Rindge, Monday, Wednesday and Friday at four P. M. Houston and Wood, drivers.

Heywood's Gazetteer, published in 1847, says:

"In a brief history of Fitchburg, published by one of its friends in 1793, it is stated with a laudable degree of satisfaction that 'at present they have a stage which runs between there and Boston, and goes and comes twice a week;' we, as faithful chroniclers, in 1846, say that the staging between Fitchburg and Boston has much improved since 1793; the horses are of a different cast altogether; they are stouter and stronger, although they drink nothing but water, and breakfast, dine and sup on pine wood and sea-coal. Their common gait is twenty miles per hour, but push them and they'll go forty. They 'go and come' three or four times a day, instead of twice in a week, and the stages are so contrived as to carry one hundred inside passengers instead of nine; when extras are required, a thousand may travel with ease and safety."

The Fitchburg Directory of 1848 gives the Fitchburg and Jaffrey stage, leaving Fitchburg on the arrival of the first train of cars from Boston, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, passing through Ashby, New Ipswich, intersecting there with stages from Manchester and Nashua, and to Temple and Peterborough. Lemuel Long, driver.

In the next year's Directory, Mr. Long appears as the driver of the depot stage, and until his death was the mail contractor between the depot and the post-office.

On January 18, 1850, we find the advertisement: "Fitchburg and Manchester, N. H., stages, leaving Fitchburg on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, on the arrival of the cars. H. N. Porter, driver."

In 1856 appears the advertisement of what was probably the last regular stage line from Fitchburg. The Fitchburg and Templeton stage, via Westminster, South Gardner and East Templeton; leaving Templeton every morning at 9.30, arriving at Fitchburg at 11.45, connecting with the Boston and Worcester trains; returning, leaving Fitchburg at 6.15, on the arrival of the last train. Sibley & Brown, proprietors, and Mr. Childs driver.

The stage driver was a man of much consequence, and so looked up to that the driver of the Salem coach hardly exaggerated his position when he roared out angrily to a hungry passenger who wanted him to drive faster, "While I drive this coach, I am the whole United States of America."

In the days before the introduction of railroads there lived a certain tavern-keeper, named Ramsay, who was the proprietor of all the stage coaches in his region. His house was a fine, spacious, old-fashioned inn, where one was sure to find cleanliness and comfort, the best of everything that a rich country could afford, and plenty of it. Squire Ramsay had become rich, and was respected by all his neighbors. Unfortunately, however, he became also a little too fond of his "pure old rye." His friends felt the necessity of cautioning him against this besetting sin; but the squire, being a high-spirited old colt, required careful handling. Finally, it was agreed that the doctor of the place, one of his oldest friends, should deal with him in the most delicate manner possible. The doctor thought best to approach his friend in the way of a parable, as Nathan did David, and felt certain of success. At their next interview he led the conversation intentionally to the subject of stage coaches—how long they would last, etc. "Now, Mr. Ramsay," said he, "suppose you had a fine, well-built old coach, that had done good

service and was yet sound, though perhaps a little shackling, and the seams a little opened; would you put it to a team of fiery young horses, on the roughest part of the road, or would you put it to a team of steady old stagers, and on the smoothest part of the road you could find?" "Well, Doctor," said the squire, in perfect ignorance of the doctor's drift, "If I had such a stage as you describe, I would *soak* it!" The doctor was silenced; but, whether from the advice of his friends or the promptings of his own good sense, the squire ceased to run the "old coach" so hard, and died highly esteemed and respected.

It is impossible to give the names of all the old "knights of the whip," who were once the connecting links between this place and the outside world, but among those most frequently mentioned by our older residents are those referred to in the following pages.

At one time the stage business of this vicinity was owned by Chedorlaomer Marshall, Josiah Whitcomb and Gardner E. Hall, Mr. Marshall having the general management of the business, and living in the house built by Oliver Fox, standing on the present site of the opera house, with the stables in the rear. They had twenty coaches, besides wagons, and over one hundred horses were used on their route, which were stationed along the line, that frequent changes might insure arrivals on schedule time. It was the custom, during the spring months, when the deep mud of the roads rendered traveling very bad, and the use of the coaches impracticable, to substitute for them open wagons with three or four seats, without any cover, and known as "mud wagons." The contract for carrying the mail in those days required that the vehicles should all be hung on thorough-braces of a certain kind.

The repeal of the Corn Laws in England in 1846 aroused great interest, especially in Canada, and it being

before the days of the telegraph, in order to convey the news as quickly as possible, Ginery Twichell and Chedorlaomer Marshall, who were great personal friends, entered into a competition as to which would get the news into Montreal first, Mr. Marshall going over the regular coach route through Ashburnham, and Twichell going from Worcester, over the other route. On the arrival of the steamer in Boston, early in the forenoon, a special locomotive left over the Fitchburg railroad, and was in charge of David Chambers (who also ran the first locomotive over the road) and Samuel Felton, superintendent of the road. The trip to Fitchburg was made in fifty-one minutes, a speed not since equalled. Mr. Marshall had been waiting for three days for the news, with a horse harnessed night and day, and a man sleeping in the kitchen ready for the hitch into a sleigh, which was at once made, and Mr. Marshall started. The horse will be remembered by old residents, "Old Buck," then a fine dapple gray, which lived to an old age and became perfectly white.

The trip to Ashburnham center was made in twenty-seven minutes, and Windsor, Vt., a distance of ninety miles, was reached that night, Mr. Marshall arriving in Montreal long before Mr. Twichell. Mr. Marshall was a man of great executive ability, and very popular with his patrons. After the days of stage coaches he engaged largely in the mail-contract business.

Benjamin West, or "Uncle Ben," as he was called by the boys, drove the extra stage between Fitchburg and Keene. During the building of the Cheshire railroad he drew all the timbers for the bridges on the road. His stable stood near the site of the present millinery store of C. H. Doten. He was interested in another enterprise with C. Marshall; they contracted to furnish all of the Irishmen the company wanted for the building of the road, for a

stated sum per man. Marshall would be at the ports in Boston when the ships arrived, hire the men, bring them here, and West would take them along the road where needed. Mr. West and his brother Charles did a large business, dealing in wood. They cut thousands of cords from a lot on Pearl hill, to be burned on the locomotives. For several years they used a thirty horse-power wood sawing machine on the lines of the railroad companies in New England.

Josiah Whitcomb, or "Uncle Si," as he was familiarly known, was famous for his good whips, the stock being of whalebone, nicely balanced with a long raw-hide lash, and he took great pride in his ability to handle his six horses, and crack his whip. With him, as was frequently the case, stage-driving was hereditary; his father and grandfather having preceded him on the same line.

Gardner E. Hall, one of the owners, drove a coach, and after the Cheshire railroad was built and the stage business discontinued, he was given a passenger train, and made as efficient a conductor as he had stage-driver. His partner, Marshall, said of him, "He was never known to 'knock down,' and was honest in all his dealings."

One of the stage routes to Boston was owned by Gen. Holman of Bolton, Col. Lowe, and Gen. Jewett of Fitchburg. Among the popular drivers were Leonard Day, Freeman Smith, Charles Smith, Joe Maynard and others.

Sylvanus Wood, the veteran expressman, was a very popular driver, and famous for being always on time. He drove for many years from Fitchburg to Brattleborough, and brought the first passengers from up the line who made the trip over the railroad. He had a fund of stories of the old stage days, and used to relate that a party of nabobs of Brattleborough, arriving by train from Boston, were very anxious to get home. Mounting the stage, they reached Athol, where they changed to a team of four white

horses, as ugly as sin and who would go like the evil one. Squire Bradley of Brattleborough bet a supper for the party that Wood would drive to the next town, six miles distant, in half an hour. The party had stopped at each road house, and had "Tom and Jerry" or "hot flip," and were ready for any fun or excitement. Wood drew up his lines, cracked his whip, and away they went at a break-neck speed, and in just twenty-eight minutes arrived at the place named. At Brattleborough that night, the party had their supper and a great time, and in fact, "painted the town red." Passengers were anxious to ride by Wood's stage. One day, coming in with his own coach and two extras, well filled, he found a large party awaiting him at Westminster. Nothing daunted, he hired the landlord to help him out, and came into Fitchburg with twenty-eight passengers and about a ton of baggage on his own coach, and the others with about the same. The proprietor, Marshall, expostulated with him, somewhat, for overloading the coaches. Mr. Wood started out from Fitchburg the day before Thanksgiving in 1847, with eighty-five passengers, four coaches being required. This was probably the largest number of passengers ever leaving Fitchburg by coach in one day. He continued to drive until February 1, 1849, when he entered the express business, continuing until his death last year. The close attention paid by him to his business is shown by the fact that when the Hon. Rodney Wallace drove him to Gardner, two years ago, to attend the reunion of the old stage drivers and teamsters, Mr. Wood remarked, "I have not been over the road since I drove over it forty years ago."

The Worcester, Fitchburg and Keene Stage Line was owned at one time by Col. Staples. Among the drivers was Samuel L. Woodward, who is thus described: "He had a very clear head, a round, cheerful, happy face, a plump person and a frank, hearty manner, united with a

suaviter in modo," (very popular characteristics, by the way). He was afterwards employed by Adams & Co. as one of the first drivers of their Boston wagon, and continued for many years, and was very successful in working up business for the new line, talking to the bankers and merchants with signal success.

The last of the old stage drivers now living in this city is Henry L. Lawrence,* whose first route was from Fitchburg to Groton, commencing to drive when sixteen years of age. He later drove from Fitchburg to Lowell, then to Harvard and Boston, and from Petersham to Groton. During the building of the Fitchburg railroad he drove to the terminus as the road progressed, and after its opening to this city was transferred to the route from Templeton to Fitchburg. On the opening of the Vermont & Massachusetts railroad he entered the employ of the railroad company, and served as conductor for several years. For the last ten years he was mail agent from the depot to the post-office, succeeding Lemuel Long; and Henry and his assistant, "Old Peter," were both familiar sights on our streets.

Joseph Cushing drove the stage from Boston to Peterborough, N. H., and was also one of the famous fast riders of the pony-express, established between Boston and Montreal, his section extending from Fitchburg to Keene, a distance of forty-four miles, which he was expected to cover in four hours.

Ward Webber, another of the old drivers, could always be depended upon to make up any lost time on the road, and arrive at the end of the trip on time. The mail stage usually carried only six passengers, the other coaches taking nine passengers inside and two on the driver's seat. The fare was higher by the mail coach,

*Mr. Lawrence died December 19, 1895, aged eighty-seven years.

which was expected to rattle over the road at about ten miles per hour, than by the accommodation lines, as they were called. Frequently a fleet horse and chaise was called into service to overtake the stage, by belated passengers, if applied for within half an hour after the departure of the coach.

Harrison Bryant of Leominster was one of the old drivers of the Brattleborough line, covering the thirty-five miles from Lancaster to Boston in seven hours, leaving Lancaster at one o'clock in the afternoon, and returning, leaving Boston at one o'clock in the morning. At that time the Keene and Brattleborough stage lines met, and made their stopping place at Capt. Er Balch's old Leominster tavern, and going over the same turnpike to Boston. He also later drove from Fitchburg to Boston on the Keene line, making the run in about six hours, shifting horses four times. The return trip left Boston at four A. M., and he very seldom failed to drive up to the tavern in Fitchburg while the twelve o'clock bell was ringing. Another driver here took the coach, which reached Keene at seven o'clock in the evening.

It was the custom to send a man with a one-horse chaise about the city, to pick up the passengers who were off from the regular route. Bryant later drove on nearly all the other lines of this vicinity; he also went to Norwich for Ginery Twichell, who sent ten Concord coaches to transport the passengers and baggage to and from the Norwich line of boats, between that city and seven miles below, where they were stopped by the ice. Mr. Bryant drove one of these coaches, and as they all went over the route together by night, each with its lanterns lighted, they looked like a caravan. Later he went to Vermont, where he drove from Rutland over the Green mountains for five years, covering during that time over seventy thousand miles. The winters were severe, and

snow drifts eight to ten feet deep. The farmers along the line kept the road well shovelled out, which he repaid by taking the children back and forth to the little district school without charge. Mr. Bryant never used tobacco or liquor, he never had a smash-up, or injured a passenger. It used to be the custom for the passengers to jump off at a tavern and run in to get their toddy. It was always, "Come, driver, come in and have something." At first he used to decline, but the landlords complained, saying he was taking a shingle off of the house. He compromised by apparently joining them, keeping his glass covered up with his hand, so that they could not see that he had no toddy in it. He left staging for a short time and went to farming in Athol. The third day of farmer's life, standing in a field, he saw the stage drive by; the driver gave him a salute and cracked his whip; the horses sprang ahead on the gallop, and the passengers on top waved to him. The old coach bounded over the road, and soon disappeared behind the turn. He began to feel lonesome and homesick, and wanted to get back on the box, guiding the leaders. The old-time love for the business was too much for him, and he packed his carpet-bag, and in two days was back on the seat, leaving the miles behind him. The hardest day in the week to get through was Sunday, when he missed the old swaying motion of the coach, which was to him as soothing as the rocking of a cradle to an infant. He was a born stage-driver, and covered over 135,000 miles on his various routes. After moving to Leominster he was engaged in the livery business.

The stage-driver of the olden time was an important personage, with his spanking team of horses, and was generally on terms of intimacy with every prominent person on his route. Many of them after their retirement from the box were leading, progressive business men. The

arrival and departure of the coach called out a large attendance. The skill exhibited in handling their teams of four or six horses was an inspiring sight. The smoking, high mettled steeds, dashing up to the door at full speed—the reins so handled that the wheels just grazed the door stone—and stopping with the rapidity of an electric shock at exactly the right spot. The driver, when he stood at the bar of the hotel with his long coach whip under his arm, and his long drab overcoat coming down to his heels, looked like one of the old English coachmen just stepped out of a frame of a picture of early times. The drivers were generally fine specimens of muscular manhood, and although proverbially good-natured, were men not to be trifled with by presuming individuals. In the words of an old stage-driver who, for many years, drove his four or six horses, making his seventy-two miles daily in sunshine, rain, and snow, and who could give some account of the occupants of every house on his route:—"You see in those days, the stage-drivers were smart and ambitious like, and pretty jealous of each other, for to see who would hitch up the best team, make the best time, and catch the most passengers. It made no difference to our pocket-books, as we were on wages; but somehow, when you were on top of a shiny stage with four or oftener six good horses and all full inside and out, you felt as if you owned the whole concern, passengers and all. We were bound to make our trips in just so many hours, go fast or go slow. When we lost time on any part of the road we tried to make it up, every driver looking out sharp that none of the others got ahead of him; what a sight of bags, bundles and band-boxes they did lug; how folks would crowd around and ask questions; they appeared to think a stage-driver knew all that was going on in the world, and they were about right; he did in those days. The long pulls up the hills,

and the rush of the coach and four or six horses down the other side, made the journey exciting and interesting."

The Concord coach, with its oval body, its lofty driver's seat, its mighty thorough-brace springs, and leather-lined interior, was the Pullman car of sixty years ago. The iron railing that ran around the vehicle's top enclosed the big box, little box, bandbox and bundle of the travelers, who were expected to keep a sharp lookout for their hair-covered trunks or sole-leather portmanteaus, and see that they were safely strapped to the rack behind the coach, or deposited in the boot beneath the driver's seat. Smaller articles were taken inside, including the large pasteboard bandboxes in which the brides carried the Leghorn straw bonnets, then the rage.

The old stage-drivers belonged to a race which has nearly passed away; and what a race they were, with bear-skin caps, and overcoats, with their teams covered with ivory rings; coaches kept always neat and clean, with their magnificent horses. They acquired a way of thinking, all characteristic, and were sententious in their speech, expressing words with a terseness that many a stump speaker might envy. They possessed in a marked degree that faculty called "horse sense." They were character readers, knowing well not only every horse of their team, but also, generally, every man who rode on the stage for a couple of hours. They did not mind exposure, heat and cold being received by them as a part of their work, and although, generally, men whose word could be fully relied on, they did enjoy guying a passenger. What stories they could tell, and what jokes they would pass!

Holmes has graphically delineated the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table;" how felicitously could he have described the autocrat of the tavern stable. The old Sudbury tavern has been immortalized by Longfellow, but no

reference is made to its most important appendage, the bustling and important stage-driver. The autocrat of all the Russias never assumed his imperial throne with half the airs of the stage autocrat in mounting his throne, the stage-box. Every look, every gesture, every order, impressed the crowd of rustics with a profound idea of his importance; these attentions were always vastly pleasing to the "knight of the whip," as, with a flourish, he gathered up his ribbons and cracked the whip over his impatient team. The driver's bugle—having not a key, and on which the driver could not play a tune, only skips—to a boy awakened by its distant sound at early dawn, made the sweetest of music. To be an actual stage-driver was the extreme ambition of many a country boy.

In addition to the conveyance of passengers, the driver had a multitude of other duties to perform on his route. There were messages to deliver, bills and notes to collect or pay, and articles to purchase, besides the business of delivering to banks and brokers packages of money for redemption, deposit or exchange. In fact, the old stage-drivers claim to have been the "original expressmen." The profits of the errand business were the driver's perquisites. Many of them accumulated considerable property, and were what was called "well-to-do," and were often either whole or part owners of their teams. Their system of errand business was almost entirely in their hands or hats. A stage-driver's hat, in those days, when the monstrous "bell crown" was the fashion, was usually filled with letters and parcels; some of them used to claim that they became bald-headed prematurely, in consequence.

The stage coach was considered the "crack" institution, worthy of illustration by the best artists. In England a highly spirited picture, usually a colored engraving representing the mail coach, crowded with passengers inside and out, drawn by four or six fine horses, dashing over

the highway at a spanking rate, was considered as worthy of a place in gentlemen's houses during the first quarter of the present century. The taste and skill of good artists were tested to depict the team in every possible situation—in the act of changing for relays, or pawing the ground at the starting place, snuffing eagerly the morning air, impatient to be off; or in the more unfortunate fix of an overturn or break-down.

Had it been suggested to the old time stage-driver that two parallel iron rails and "a tea-kettle on wheels" would at some future day dethrone him, and render staging not only unfashionable but obsolete, he would have stared in astonishment or smiled in pity upon the speaker as either a fool or a madman;—he regarded the stage coach as indispensable, as we now think the railroad.

A well-known Worcester clergyman relates the following story, at his own expense, of a stage-coach experience. In his younger days he was tramping through the White mountains with a companion who was also a clergyman. One day they mounted the driver's seat of a stage coach, and found the driver an interesting character, loaded with good stories. The three speedily became friendly, and it was with reluctance that they parted at the end of the journey. "I'm glad ter hev met yer, fellars," says the driver, in farewell. "Yer see, I hevn't seen a man this summer, excepting ministers."

The establishment of an opposition line often resulted in bitter rivalry between the companies, and cuts in rates, but not often did it go so far as evidenced by the following story told of the Boston and Providence stages: "A line called the New Pilot Line was started, and competition became very brisk between it and the old line, which from the cut in rates was losing money, and one of the principal owners was very much exercised thereat. One morning, some forty or fifty horses used on the Pilot

Line coaches were found poisoned in their stables; suspicion was directed to the gentleman in question, and evidence was not wanting to connect him with it. The Pilot Line employed Jeremiah Mason, a famous lawyer of his day, to prosecute the case. He happened to live on the same street with the suspected man, and one evening he went to see him. It was not known what transpired between the parties, but the next morning the suspected man was found dead in his bed. He had poisoned himself as, presumably, he had the horses."

Many of the veterans were remarkably expert in exercising their lash. The story is told of a driver, noted for his dexterity, who wagered the drinks with a gentleman on the outside seat that he would, on passing the first flock of fowls within reach of his lash, decapitate any bird the gentleman might select, provided the passenger would be answerable for all damages; the other conditions being that the driver should not relinquish his reins or seat, nor check the speed of his horses. He was soon put to the test, for, on passing a farm-house, a flock of hens, convoyed by a stately rooster, was approached. As the coach passed at full speed, the driver was directed to try his skill on the rooster. Quick as thought the unerring lash flashed through the air, encircling the neck of the hapless chanticleer, and his glittering head flew across the road, to the dismay of the astonished hens.

Longfellow refers to his first introduction to the "Wayside Inn" at Sudbury about 1840 as follows: "The stage left Boston at about three o'clock in the morning, reaching the Sudbury tavern for breakfast, a considerable portion of the route being traveling in total darkness, and without your having the least idea who your companions inside might be."

He also refers to his experience with the accommodation stage between Boston and Portland, that took two

days for the journey. In winter the accommodation was nothing more than an ordinary sleigh, furnished with sides of coarse bocking, which madly plunged into the cradle-holes or slowly struggled through the deep snow-drifts, like "a ship in a heavy sea."

Railways, when first started, were all operated by horse power, and it was generally supposed that any one could run his own car over them by paying toll, as a coach on a turnpike; but Stephenson's invention soon led to the adoption of steam power.

The first steamboat for passenger service on Long Island Sound ran between Providence and New York, in 1822, the boats making the trip from town to town in twenty-three hours, which was regarded as monstrous fast time. On one of the early trips, a lay-to for some slight repairs, off Point Judith, attracted the country people to the supposed wreck. Their amazement at the apparently burning boat suddenly sliding away through the water without the aid of sails, caused many to whisper that his "Satanic Majesty" had a hand in it, and perhaps was on board in person. With this new means of conveyance this route quickly became the favorite one for travel between Boston and New York, eighteen or twenty stage coaches being often required each way per day for the forty mile journey from Boston to Providence. Said an editor of the *Providence Gazette*, at that time: "We were rattled from Boston to Providence in four hours and fifty minutes; if any one wants to go faster he may send to Kentucky and charter a streak of lightning."

The fare between Providence and Boston being three dollars, an opposition line started, making a cut to two dollars and a half. A bitter fight followed, each side meeting the drops of the other until the new line reached fifty cents; when the old line offered to make trips every day with their stage filled with the first passengers who were

at the starting place, with no charge for the trip. The new line met this by a free ride and a good dinner, free to their passengers at their journey's end. The old line promptly added a bottle of wine to the ride and dinner. A well-known, jolly good fellow left Boston one Monday morning, had a pleasant ride to Providence, enjoyed his dinner and wine, and promptly presented himself Wednesday morning for the third trip, and ended his sixth trip Saturday night in Boston, to learn that a compromise of a two dollar rate had been adopted.

A lady in a neighboring town thus describes her father's journey to New York in her younger days, before the date of railroads: "After an affectionate farewell to his family he went to some town in the county, took the stage to Albany, then down the Hudson river by sail-boat to New York; returning by sailing vessel to Providence, and from there by his own team home, his man having been waiting three days for the vessel. The journey was the common talk of every man, woman and child in town."

With the advent of the locomotive, the day of the stage coach was ended. The steam car, with its marvelous accession of speed and power, told its story to New England, and the old favorite was doomed. It fell, never to rise, and with its fall came a change so great that it is almost impossible for us, of a later generation, to even imagine what old New England was.

The ideas of those days, as to the proper construction of a railway, are shown in the words of a report to the legislature of Massachusetts January 16, 1829: "It is found that the cost of a continuous stone wall, laid so deep in the ground as not to be moved by the effects of the frost, and surmounted by a rail of split granite about a foot in thickness and depth, with a bar of iron on top of it of sufficient thickness for the carriage wheels to run," etc.

The *Boston Courier* of June 27, 1827, had the following editorial: "Alcibiades, or some other great man of antiquity, it is said, cut off his dog's tail that the *quidnuncs* might not become extinct from want of excitement. Some such notion, no doubt, moved one or two of our national and experimental philosophers to get up the project of a railroad from Boston to Albany, a project which every one knows, who knows the simplest rule of arithmetic, to be impracticable, but at an expense little less than the market value of the whole territory of Massachusetts; and which, if practicable, every person of common sense knows would be as useless as a railroad from Boston to the moon." When the idea of constructing the Old Colony railroad was first advanced a public meeting was held at Quincy to protest against it. One speaker stated that the opening of such communication with Boston would affect the price of oats, and destroy the business of the stage proprietor who carried six or eight passengers to and from the city every day. Dorchester was equally opposed to the road, and the people there desired to have the tracks laid only in the outskirts of the town. The records of Quincy are said to contain, in black and white, the protest of a much worked-up citizen against allowing the Old Colony railroad to pass through the town, on the ground that the noise would prevent his hens from laying.

The *American Traveller*, of 1830, says of railroad travel: "We have frequent accounts of the great rage for riding on the Baltimore railroad, and of the facilities at present offered the travelers for that purpose." The *Fitchburg Gazette* of September 6th, 1831, contained the following: "We learn that transportation of passengers upon the Baltimore & Ohio railroad will hereafter be by locomotive steam engine; the cars will now be conveyed by engine just constructed, fully capable of transporting

twenty tons, including weight of the cars and one hundred and fifty passengers."

Simon Cameron prophesied in 1834 that the child was born who would be able to breakfast in Harrisburg and take supper in Philadelphia; and his prediction was considered a good subject for raillery. A person can travel five times faster now than Mr. Cameron dared prophesy. Once it cost a politician no small labor and pains to journey to Washington. Hannibal Hamlin's route in 1842 was from his home to Portland by stage; from Portland to Boston by boat; to Norwich by rail, crossing the sound to Greenport, where he took the Long Island railroad to New York; from New York to Philadelphia by rail, making the remainder of the journey by stage or boat, as best he could.

A traveler from Boston fifty years ago, to reach Chicago, left the Boston and Worcester station at seven A. M., arriving at Albany the same day. The New York Central was not then in operation, and eight days, at an expense of five dollars each, for fare and board, was spent upon the Erie Canal, between Albany and Buffalo; the rest of the trip was made via the great lakes, the traveler reaching Chicago in twenty-one days from Boston. Upon his arrival there he found it a comparative wilderness, with land salable at one dollar and a quarter per acre in what is now the heart of the second city of the United States.

In 1833 there was only one railroad in New England. A daily mail coach was sufficient for the travel between Boston and Providence, the great New England thoroughfare; the trip was made by the mail coach in one day, and by the accommodation coach in two days; it was seldom either coach was filled. The mail coach was occupied by the few to whom time was more important than money. Traveling by stage coach, although tedious,

especially when the roads were bad, was not without its attractions. Those who were fellow-passengers, even if strangers to one another, gradually entered into conversation, and there was usually some one acquainted with the route and able to impart interesting information concerning the localities through which they passed. There was a sense of freedom; an abundant enjoyment of the surroundings, and commonly, a disposition to be obliging and considerate by giving up the best seats to the ladies; by consenting to the admission or exclusion of fresh air, or by the convenient arrangement of the feet. Of course, the least amiable qualities of human nature would sometimes assert themselves, and selfish people would improve the opportunities for making all of the passengers uncomfortable; but the air of the stage-coach was generally surcharged with good humor.

Ralph Waldo Emerson used to relate the following anecdote: "A lady deeply veiled and dressed in mourning was riding in a stage-coach in Vermont, opposite to whom sat a small, sharp-featured, black-eyed woman, who began catechising her thus: 'Have you lost friends?' 'Yes, I have.' 'Was they near friends?' 'Yes, they was.' 'How near?' 'A husband and a brother.' 'Where did they die?' 'Down in Mobile.' 'What did they die of?' 'Yellow fever.' 'How long was they sick?' 'Not very long.' 'Was they sea-faring men?' 'Yes.' 'Did you save their chists?' 'Yes, I did.' 'Was they hopefully pious?' 'I hope and trust so.' 'Well, if you got their chists, and they was hopefully pious, you have much to be thankful for.'" The stress laid on the "chists," and the placing of their rescue before the piety of the husband and brother, as reasons for thankfulness, struck Emerson as exceedingly characteristic of a certain class of Yankees, and infinitely mirth-provoking. The story is told of a very fat gentleman who instructed some one to purchase two

seats for him in a coach, that he might have plenty of room, and when he came to the coach found that one seat was inside and one on top.

The memory of the old stage coach is very pleasant to many of our older people. There are a few of the old, time-honored vehicles resting tranquilly in barns, occasionally disturbed to have their weather-beaten sides retinted, their dash-boards polished, and creaking axles lubricated, that they may be used on some special occasion; and as it dashes through the streets with a happy, gaily attired company, bound on a pleasure-trip, it attracts the attention of the rushing tide of people, among whom may be those who recognize it as the old coach in which they saw the bride and groom set out on their wedding journey long years ago.

Many of the old stage-drivers bitterly opposed the railroads in every way; one of them declaring that "his coach was big enough to carry all who could afford to travel between Bridgeport and New York." A driver from Pittsburg to Washington, ridiculing the locomotive, offered to bet a thousand dollars that no man could build a machine that could drag a coach from Washington to Baltimore quicker than his favorite team of iron grays. Of him it was said, that "He could leave Philadelphia on a six-horse coach, with a hot johnny-cake in his pocket, and reach Pittsburg before it could grow cold." Some of the opponents of the railroad claimed that canal conveyance (which was three or four miles per hour) was quicker; that the smoke of the locomotive would be a terrible nuisance. It was boldly declared that a gale of wind would stop the progress of the train, and that there was no practical advantage in a railway over a canal. Another gave it as his opinion that no engine could go in the night-time; because, he added, more scripturally than pertinently, "The night-time is a period when no man can work." Another remarked,

"We are told that we are to gallop at the speed of twelve miles an hour, with the aid of the devil, in the form of the locomotive, sitting as postillion in the forehouse, and an honorable member sitting behind him to stir up the fire and keep it at full speed. I will show they cannot go six; I may be able to show that we can keep up with them by the canal. Thus, sir, I prove that locomotive engines cannot move more than four and one-fourth miles per hour, and I will show the whole scheme to be bottomed on deception and fallacy."

Peter Parley's "First Book on History," (used as a school-book sixty years ago,) in the chapter on Maryland, says: "The people are building what is called a railroad: this consists of iron bars laid down along the ground, and made fast, so that carriages with small wheels may run upon them with facility. In this way one horse will be able to draw as much as ten horses on a common road. A part of the railroad is already done, and if you choose to take a ride upon it you can do so. You enter a car something like a stage, and then you will be drawn along by two horses at a speed of twelve miles per hour." This description, written for children, sixty years ago, gives an idea of railroading at that time.

While the principal railways in Massachusetts were in process of construction, and passenger trains were run over only a portion of the contemplated route, the stage lines were not entirely relinquished, but connected the temporary termini of the railroads, and pieced out the travel to the intended end of the route. Public sympathy for the stage-drivers was universal and hearty. Many of them had served in that capacity from youth to advanced age. Some had driven the stage for twenty, thirty, yes, forty years upon the same route, and become as it were "established institutions" with hosts of friends. Joseph Wyman, who run the stage between Boston and Medford, had the remark-

able record of driving for thirty-four years continuously, twice a day, without an accident of any kind.

As a matter of policy, if not of simple justice, the new companies made it a point generally to give employment to, or in some other way favor, the drivers whose lines the railway had supplanted. Many were made conductors, depot-masters, and baggage-masters; others were given the "freedom of the road," and allowed to travel without charge, a privilege they turned to good account. They were thus partly compensated for their constantly diminishing fares, their passes over the railroad enabling them to continue their errand business between the metropolis and the principal places on their routes.

Dickens delighted to portray stage-coach journeys, and has given us two each in Nicholas Nickleby and Pickwick, (and also the Wellers') and others in Copperfield and Great Expectations. And as we read the vivid description in Martin Chuzzlewit of Tom Pinch's journey from Salisbury to London, and Washington Irving's delightful sketch of "The Stage Coach," we wish that we might ride through life on the box seat of a mail coach, along smooth roads, and with a strong, steady hand to guide the horses! That we might live in a land where it is always bright May, where fields are always a-bloom, and where care and sorrow never come. But there are rough spots in every road; sometimes the driver loses his grip, the sun goes behind a cloud, the leader takes a stumble, and we find that even riding on a box seat is not an unmixed pleasure.

If we consider what a journey of sixty years ago was, we more clearly realize the great changes that have since taken place. Traveling then was a matter requiring preparation and forethought; one did not then leave the house for the place of business, and on the decision of a few minutes start on a journey of fifty or one hundred

miles, without intimation to the household—who know nothing of our absence from town until the return to dinner at about the usual hour—but a careful packing of the trunk was attended to; the coach office was visited the evening previous to the journey, that a seat might be secured, and notice given to call at the house for a passenger through;—much like the selection of a state-room on shipboard or berth in a sleeping car at the present time.

The coach office had an atmosphere of travel; its furniture and belongings savored of dust and distance; the whips, and box-coats with big buttons, like wide-awake eyes, hanging from the pegs on the walls, had a look of resting from travel, but ready to jump down and be off at a moment's notice; the walls were covered with handbills and advertisements, headed with the names of distant cities; wood-cuts of well-filled stage-coaches, drawn at an incredibly rapid rate over dusty roads by prancing teams of long-tailed horses, with drivers on the boxes, flourishing whips with most unnecessary length, considering the apparent activity of the animals.

With the would-be traveler there was a preparation and anticipation, pleasant or dismal, as the case might be, but always exciting, with ever recurring speculation as to to-morrow's weather; the table is laid for breakfast over night; repeated inquiries are made as to whether sundry articles have been packed, and discussion as to the keeping a light burning all night; but examination of the box in the oven-mouth showing the tinder quite dry, it is deemed safe to trust to flint and steel for light in the morning. The alarm clock is attended to, that it may fall into convulsions promptly at three o'clock; and with a last admonition to the servant girl not to oversleep, he betakes himself to slumber at a late hour at night.

Then the morning—the noisy spluttering of the alarm clock; the half awakening; the striving to collect one's thoughts; the sudden bounding out of bed when the remembrance of the day's journey flashes on the mind; striking a light by the means of the tinder-box; hastily drawing aside the curtains and peering out into the cool air to look at the gray morning, to see what the weather is like; the running to call the cook and leaving the light at her door; the hurried toilet by lamplight; the last strapping of the trunk; the opening it to put in some forgotten but necessary article; forcing one's self to eat the hastily prepared breakfast, with oft-repeated injunctions from the members of the family to be careful of this or that parcel, and not to forget that message or errand. The care for one's health is enjoined, and if the traveler is young, and the absence from home is to be for any extended time, a due regard for sound morals is inculcated.

The young people, exhilarated by the unusual bustle, are running in and out with false alarms that the stage is coming. First, an early milk cart causes the traveler to leave talking, drop his knife and fork, jump from the table, wiping his mouth in a hurry to kiss the female part of the group; the mistake is laughed at, and then, perhaps, a market wagon causes another hurried leave-taking. Finally, a low, heavy rumble, gradually growing louder and mingling with the unmistakable rattle, the sharp cracking of a whip, and a loud "Whoa!" announces the arrival of the stage. The burly driver and stage-office runner seize the trunk between them, and the last words of parting are said. The driver opens the door with a twist and a jerk, and the traveler enters the dim interior of the coach; the iron steps are put up with a sharp clang, the door shut with violence; the driver mounts the box, gathers up the reins, calls cheerily to his

team, and the stage moves off with a roll and clatter of the iron-shod horses' feet mingling with the last good-byes of the group of friends who stand at the doorstep, the father holding aloft a flaming lamp which casts a flickering glare over the scene, and the passengers settling themselves back in their seats for the day's journey.

At this early hour the street is silent, except for the rattle of the coach; and deserted, except by an occasional laborer bound for his daily toil. The signs over the shop doors look very queer in the dim light; the stage dashes onward through the streets, in which the houses grow more and more scattered; then the coach runs smoothly along the wide turnpike road, the gray light increases and grows ruddy, and the features of the passengers can be distinguished by each other. As they slowly climb up the hill they meet market wagons whose drivers give a hearty greeting. Dashing along, they soon meet the farmers, who have already commenced their long day's toil; the mowers stop half way in their swath, and turn to gaze at the coach; the men in the cornfield lean on their hoes and stare after it; the women in the yard turn back their sun-bonnets and peep over the clothes-line, and the girls in the farm-house run briskly to the window.

After leaving the nine-mile house, where breakfast is again partaken, they soon overtake groups of ruddy, barefooted children, carrying little tin pails or small Indian baskets, bound for the little brown school-house yonder, at the fork of the roads; they all bow and courtesy with more energy and good-will than grace, and so do the urchins at the school-house as they pass it, who are all bareheaded as well as barefooted, and shade their eyes with their arms, and stare at the passengers after making their manners.

The cows look up as the stage passes their pastures, whisk their tails and resume their feeding, but every colt

whinnies and follows to the limit of his paddock until, frightened and indignant at the crack of the driver's whip, he starts away from the roadside fence on a furious gallop, then wheels about and stands with head and tail erect, snorting in wonder and defiance. The cool, balmy air of the country, the sight of the pleasant, shady woods, of the rich meadows, the fields of grain waving in a gentle breeze and glittering with dewdrops, the singing of the birds, and the rapid motion of the coach, are delightful and exhilarating. The passengers have become acquainted, and conversation has become general and animated; the weather, the crops, politics and religion, are all duly discussed.

Way-passengers are taken up from time to time and set down again. Frequently arriving at neat little villages, the driver gives warning blasts on his horn that the right of way must be given to the United States mail, and drives up at a round trot in front of the store where the post-office is kept. During the changing of the mail, they sit at the coach window and watch the postmaster and his clerk rapidly assorting the packages, while the customers, who are postponed to the imperious haste of Uncle Sam, lean over the counters and beguile the wait of from seven to fifteen minutes staring at the showy advertisements of cordials and pills. Several small boys linger around the store door, walking gingerly with bare feet on the coarse gravel, glancing furtively at the coach, hoping some of the passengers may want a drink of water, and thus give them an opportunity to earn a few pennies by bringing it. The driver meanwhile waters his horses from a bucket, chiding them when they try to put their noses into it out of turn, and dashes the frothy leavings upon the feet of the leaders. The travelers gaze at the quiet, shady streets of the village, wondering whether they would like to live there, and soliloquize on the inhabitants.

The driver again mounts the box, clicks to his horses, and away they go; descending a gentle slope they enter a long, level plain, and with crack of the whip, away they speed at a swift gallop, the horses tossing their heads and rattling their harnesses as if in exhilaration at the rapidity of the motion; while the driver, holding whip and reins in one hand, takes off his hat with the other, and, resting it on his knees, pulls out his handkerchief and wipes his forehead, partly because he has a habit of doing it, and partly because it is well to show the passengers how cool he is and how easy it is to drive a four-in-hand when you have had as much experience as he has. Having done this leisurely—otherwise the effect would be materially impaired—he replaces his handkerchief, puts on his hat, squares his elbows, cracks his whip again, and on they speed as merrily as before. Approaching the town where an exchange of horses is to be made, the driver commences to undo the buckle which keeps his ribbons together, and prepares to throw them off the moment he stops at the tavern yard where the fresh horses are waiting with blankets on. The change is quickly made. In the meantime the driver and most of the passengers alight to stretch their cramped limbs and lubricate their dry throats. A very slight excuse avails for even the clergymen and ladies to take a sip of the excellent punch which the landlord has prepared. Again mounting the coach, the driver gathers up his reins, the helpers haul off the blankets, and with a cheery "All right," off they go.

The arrival at the stopping place for dinner is an important event, and the landlord on the sound of the approaching stage repairs to the tavern door, where, with smiling, cheerful face and hearty greeting, he welcomes the passing traveler who, with sharpened appetite, is ready to do full justice to the abundant and substantial fare provided. There is no hurry, as ample time is allowed, and

the dinner hour passes with many a laugh and story, in vivid contrast with the "Ten minutes for refreshments," and the rush and jam of the railroad "quick lunch" of the later days. Resuming their seats, refreshed, they enter the last stage of their day's travel; and despite the fatigue—as they begin to feel with Geoffrey Crayon, that "it is a comfort to shift one's position and be bruised in a new place"—they remember with regret that they are nearing their journey's end.

At last, from the top of a high hill, they see far away in the distance the outlines of the town for which they are bound. Rolling, pitching, rattling, the flying coach descends the hill at a headlong rate, in pursuit of the galloping team whose sixteen white feet seem sixteen times that number from the window as they go; swiftly revolving wheels grinding through the gravel and hissing through the sand, leaving behind them for many rods a long, trailing cloud of dust, which glistens in the slanting, ruddy sunbeams, like the golden sand of an African river. The passengers look forward to the dispersion of their little company with regret, and tell each other how much they have enjoyed the trip and the acquaintances formed, and express the hope that they may meet again.

Now, in the twilight, they are driving over a long bridge, and through the streets; the clocks of the town are striking eight; strange buildings tower on either hand, and over the doors of brilliantly lighted shops are unfamiliar names; suddenly the coach stops, swaying on its springs at the door of a strange tavern. A porter rushes out and opens the door; with good-byes to their companions, they are at their journey's end. Such a coach journey would never do in this age of speed; and if we were fitted with wings to fly, it is much to be doubted if even the swiftness of that means of progression would satisfy the cravings for rapid transit of the present generation.

But it was not such a highly interesting and pleasurable thing to tumble out of bed on a cold winter's morning, climb on top of a coach in the dark, and be whirled through the coming morning, with the thermometer flirting with the zero point. It may have had a tendency to improve the race to have one's nose turn blue with cold, and one's knees shake together as they were jolted over the rough country road in a long drive to get to the city. Most people, however, would prefer, at the present time, to get up later and take the train. What would our forefathers have said to a suggestion of the possibility of the vestibule trains of the present day, with their parlor, dining and sleeping cars, lighted by electricity, provided with every convenience, and rushing through the country at the rate of a mile a minute; of covering a distance of three thousand miles without changing cars?

The stage-coach business reached its greatest development in this country in the establishment of the great overland stage lines to California, which were in the fulness of their glory in the days just before the building of the railways, when, says a writer of that date, "there was such staging as no one ever saw anywhere else." The gold discoveries in California and Colorado led men to brave the dangers and privations of long journeys into what was then nearly an unknown region. There was not a mile of railroad west of St. Joseph, Mo. From there to California, over two thousand miles, the traveler had to proceed slowly for seventeen hundred miles through an arid region, inhabited by great bands of warlike and roving Indians, and subject to terrific storms in winter. The only means of transportation was by mule, horse or ox team, and the route for hundreds of miles was marked by the graves of those who had perished on the way. The average time from St. Joseph, Mo., to California, was two and one-half months.

The first through stage line was established in 1858, over the "Butterfield route," following nearly the present route of the Southern Pacific; the first stage leaving St. Joseph September 16, arriving at San Francisco October 10, making 24 days, 18 hours, for the journey. The contract with the government called for a monthly service, which became fortnightly the following year, and continued until the breaking out of the war. The Central route was opened in 1859, and became a daily service on the first of July, 1861, with a government subsidy of a million dollars. Horace Greeley gives an interesting description of the route in his "Overland Journey," in 1859, and the story of his experience with Hank Monk was for years told and retold by every driver and traveler on the road.

In 1862-3, the business passed into the management of Ben Holliday. He extended and improved it until it became one of the greatest enterprises in this country owned by one man. His whole extent of staging contracts was two thousand seven hundred and sixty miles, and to conduct it required six thousand horses and mules and about two hundred and sixty coaches. His name is so identified with the "overland stages," that they are seldom referred to without recalling his connection therewith. Stations were established every ten miles, with sometimes a village of log or turf cabins, but often only the solitary stables where the stock tenders had the fresh horses ready harnessed—only about five minutes being required to make the shift. At every other station there was an eating-house. The stages ran closely on schedule time, and arrived at the stations with such promptness that the keepers had the meals all cooked and warm as the stage drove up, all the way to Salt Lake City.

At every fifth station a new driver mounted the box, who seldom left his seat during the fifty mile drive. He

was the autocrat of the road, and oracle of the people at the stations, everything on the road giving way to the stage, it being the unwritten law that the coach carrying the mail and passengers must not be delayed. Starting out into the darkness of the night, he found, perhaps, the next lonely station looted, the stock tenders killed or carried away captive; then, pushing on with his tired team, he found the same thing repeated at the next station; and then, perchance, had to make a running fight for their lives before the drive was ended. In case of accident or trouble, the drivers were sometimes obliged to take the return stage back without sleep or rest. No wonder they sometimes fell asleep on the box, the team continuing to go at full speed over the ground.

Every fifty miles a blacksmith shop and a small grocery store were established. The fare from the Missouri river to Denver was one hundred and seventy-five dollars, to Salt Lake City three hundred and fifty, and to California five hundred. The expenses were enormous and the losses on account of the Indians, in one year, were over half a million dollars. The regularity of the service, considering the many chances and uncertainties encountered, was such as to call forth the admiration of all who saw it. The trip from the Missouri river to Denver, 650 miles, in five days, by a heavy coach with ponderous mails and six to fourteen passengers, was a great triumph of stage management. Many felt like Mark Twain's Jack, who, having made the trip, had the utmost confidence in Mr. Holliday's ability to overcome any obstacle. When Jack was told that Moses with great skill had guided the children of Israel through the wilderness in forty years, he exclaimed "Forty years—only three hundred miles—Humph! Ben Holliday would have brought them through in thirty-six hours."

Mr. Holliday visited the line about twice a year, and passed over the road with a rapidity and disregard of

expense and rules characteristic of his irrepressible nature. In 1864 or '65 he made the quickest trip overland that it was possible for one to make before the distance was shortened by railroads, causing himself to be driven from Salt Lake to Atchison, 1220 miles, in six and a half days, and only twelve days and two hours from San Francisco to Atchison. The trip probably cost him $20,000 in wear and tear of coaches and injury and loss of horses by the rapid driving. Samuel Bowles in his "Across the Continent," in 1865, says: "Our ride by the overland mail stages will always be a chief feature in the history of our journey across the continent. We drove at an average of six miles an hour, including all stops, sometimes making full ten miles per hour, in an easy and commodious Concord coach. Such are in use all through this route, and with horses as sprightly and in as good condition as you ever rode after in the good old days of staging the Connecticut river valley. We were whirled over the mountains and through the dry and dusty plains of this uninhabited and uninhabitable region,—rarely passing a house except the stage stations, never seeing a wild bird, as there are none,—as rapidly and regularly as we could over macadamized roads amid a compact civilization." .... "There is no stage-driving left in the States—I doubt if there ever was any—at all comparable to this in perfection of discipline, in celerity and comfort, and in manipulation of the reins." .... "Think of a stage road one hundred miles long, from Carson to Placerville, watered as city streets are watered, to lay the dust for the traveler; yet this luxury is performed throughout nearly the entire route, day by day, all through the summer season."

In 1867 the Kansas Pacific was pushing westward over the grassy hills of Kansas, and the Union Pacific was sweeping its arms of iron up the valley of the Platte, while the Central Pacific had climbed the Sierra Nevada

and was laying its iron trail across the Humboldt desert. At this time Wells, Fargo & Co. took possession of the fast shortening stage lines connecting these railways. To facilitate the transportation between the eastern and western termini of the railways, they purchased the largest number of stage coaches ever sold on one order. Thirty of the largest and finest Concord coaches ever built, with harnesses and furnishings complete, were shipped from Concord, N. H., on a special train, to run to the terminus of the tracks of the Union Pacific railway on express time. The bill of this shipment was nearly $40,000, and the freight was not less than $6000. So fast were the tracks of the railways pushed forward, that many of these coaches were never used as intended, but were sold to companies operating short lines to the mining camps.

The epitaph of Horace Greeley's stage-driver reads thus: "Sacred to the memory of Hank Monk, the whitest, biggest-hearted, and best known stage-driver of the West, who was kind to all and thought ill of none; he lived in a strange era, and was a hero; and the wheels of his coach are now ringing on the golden streets.

"Long ago at the end of the route,
The stage pulled up and the folks stepped out.
They have all passed under the tavern door—
The youth and his bride, and the gray three-score.
Their eyes were weary with dust and gleam,
The day had gone like an empty dream.
Soft may they slumber, and trouble no more
For their eager journey, its jolt and roar,
In the old coach over the mountain."

"Good-night to all of the old Kings of the Road!—
Who sleep till the blast of the bugle of God.
In feverish noon, on the highway of strife,
Make the driver's old rule the law of your life—
Keep the track if you can, but mid-day or mid-night,
Whatever you do, always turn to the right."

THE FIRST HALF-CENTURY OF HIGH SCHOOLS IN FITCHBURG, 1830–1880.

Read at a Meeting of the Society, September 16, 1895.

BY HENRY A. GOODRICH.

Whoever attempts to write a historical sketch from memory or personal reminiscence, treads on dangerous ground. This fact is well established in general as well as in local history. So little has been written or published concerning the early schools in Fitchburg, that the writer must depend largely upon personal recollections for the contents of this paper. In the preface to Torrey's History of Fitchburg, written in 1836 and reprinted in 1865, the author tells us that he has been induced to save from the oblivion to which they were hastening, some of the events connected with the history of the town. Concerning the High School, however, its organization, and six years' duration under four different masters, the publication referred to has only the following paragraph:

"The Academy is a commodious two-story building, situated a few rods easterly of the common. It was erected in 1830 at an expense of about $1200. It is furnished with two school-rooms on the lower floor, the former of which will accommodate sixty-five scholars, and the other thirty. The average number attending for several years past has been about thirty."

This is all the reference there is to the subject in Torrey's History. Undoubtedly the events which immediately preceded, however important, were not then considered

worthy of record. No generation can view itself in the light of history.

In 1884 Ray Greene Huling, then principal of the High School, published a sketch of teachers in all the classical schools in Fitchburg from 1830 to 1883, and a list of all graduates from 1866 to date of publication. Some facts with reference to the early teachers have, by permission, been gleaned from this record which would now be difficult to obtain, as several included in Mr. Huling's list have since passed away or become too feeble to communicate. This instance illustrates the advantage of storing up historical information before the sources of supply are exhausted.

The year 1830 was a notable one in the history of Fitchburg. At this date the first printing office in town was established. The first newspaper, the *Fitchburg Gazette*, was issued in the autumn of the same year. The organization of the Fitchburg Philosophical Society was completed, and commenced active work in mental improvement. But not the least important of the prominent events of that year was the erection of the academy building, where high-grade schools could be accommodated. These avenues to a higher education — the newspaper, the lyceum, and the classical school — were established about the same time. Previous to this date, the means for obtaining more than a common school education in Fitchburg were very limited. The whole amount raised by the town in 1830 for the support of schools was $1100. Of this sum, $900 was to be apportioned according to the number of scholars, and $200 to be apportioned by the selectmen at their discretion.

When it is remembered that the population of the town at this time was more than 2000, the appropriation of $1100 for the support of schools seems insignificant. And yet it is not so surprising when we realize that, two

hundred years before, such a thing as a free public school, maintained by direct taxation, was unknown in this or any other country. The first school of this kind was established in Dorchester of this state in 1639. The Boston Latin school was a free school, but was supported by contributions from wealthy men.

Under such limitations as existed at this time (1830), it is no wonder that public spirited citizens in Fitchburg began to realize the need of better facilities for obtaining a liberal education. The nearest institutions for this purpose were the Appleton Academy at New Ipswich and the Lawrence Academy at Groton, and Fitchburg furnished few students for either. There was then no public conveyance to these places. When Leicester Academy was founded there was not in all Worcester county an educational institution higher than the district schools. This condition of things was freely discussed, public meetings were held, and it was finally decided to raise funds to erect a building where private or classical schools could be kept. Accordingly an association was formed of twenty-five influential citizens who were willing to contribute to the enterprise for the public good. The following are the names of the members of the original Fitchburg High School Association:

Benjamin Snow,
Jonas Marshall,
Zachariah Sheldon, (who gave the land).
Martin Newton,
Enoch Caldwell,
John Whitcomb,
Oliver Fox,
Charles W. Wilder,
Aaron Derby, Jr.,
Samuel Willis,
Joshua Goodridge,
Daniel Tuttle,
Ephraim Kimball,
Calvin Lincoln,
Payson Williams,
Levi Pratt,
Jonas A. Marshall,
Abial J. Town,
Nathaniel Wood,
William Kilburn,
Benjamin Wheeler,
Otis Abercrombie,
Francis Perkins,
Ebenezer Torrey,
Ivers Phillips.

It will be seen that Col. Ivers Phillips is the only member of the association now living. Col. Phillips was more or less connected with the schools of Fitchburg for forty years. First as a pupil, then as a teacher, and finally as an active and influential member of the school committee. He first taught in the South Fitchburg district, when the school-house was on the hill beyond the almshouse. Alonzo P. Goodridge, now eighty-eight years of age, and his brother John, who died in his eightieth year, were among his pupils. He afterward taught in the Phelps district, south side of Pearl hill; and as late as 1833 at the old brick school-house, corner of Blossom and Crescent streets. To Col. Phillips, more than to any other individual, is this Society indebted for valuable historical records. To him also, more than to any one person, is the town indebted for his early and persistent efforts in the cause of liberal and popular education.

What is known as the old Academy building was built by the High School Association, on land donated by Capt. Zachariah Sheldon, then a prominent citizen, whose name deserves to be handed down to posterity for his liberality, although the land at the time was of no great pecuniary value. Very likely he builded wiser than he knew. Capt. Sheldon was an uncle of John and Francis Sheldon, lifelong residents of this city. He was elected to the legislature in 1822, after the town had been fined for not sending a representative that year—was one of the selectmen in 1829, and again representative in 1831.

The directors of the High School Association were: Benjamin Snow, Francis Perkins, Dr. Charles W. Wilder, Dr. Jonas A. Marshall, secretary and treasurer.

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FITCHBURG ACADEMY, 1830—1860.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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more than sixty years, no name could be more appropriate. The building was a modest two-story wooden structure, painted white, with cupola and belfry, with a bell whose musical notes must be still remembered by some here present. It may be mentioned in passing, that many ambitious young men took their first lessons in ringing and setting a bell from this bell rope. When the new high school building was erected in 1869 the old Academy was moved further down the street, and became an annex to the Rollstone, now the National House.

The first free high school established in Fitchburg was in the spring of 1849. Every person previous to that date who desired more than a common-school education was obliged to secure it at private expense. The high grade private schools were called at different times by different names. The first, in 1830, was known as the Fitchburg Classical School, the second as the Fitchburg High School, while from 1833 to 1849 the uninterupted succession was known as the Fitchburg Academy.

In addition to the regular classical school in the Academy building, there were several private schools kept in the old brick chapel on Rollstone street, where languages and the higher branches were taught, in addition to common English. These schools, from 1835 to 1841, were called the Fitchburg High School. The teachers were mostly theological students, who afterwards entered the ministry, as will appear later on. The brick chapel here mentioned was a wooden building with brick plating. It now stands at the corner of North and Cherry streets, minus the brick casing, and was once used as an Advent chapel.

The first teacher in the Academy was Benaiah Cook, from Keene, N. H. Mr. Cook opened a private school in the fall of 1829, in the old brick school-house corner of Blossom and Crescent streets, but soon after removed to

a room near what is now the corner of Main and Putnam streets, where he remained until the Academy building was ready for occupancy. The school continued here quite successfully, and during the term which commenced August 18, 1830, there was a total of ninety-seven pupils in the different departments. The following is a list of the examining committee, teachers and students at that time:

COMMITTEE.—Rev. Calvin Lincoln, Rev. Rufus A. Putnam, Doct. Abel Fox, David Brigham, Esq., Ebenezer Torrey, Esq., Doct. Jonas A. Marshall, Nathaniel Wood, Esq.

TEACHERS.—Benaiah Cook, A. B., Principal; Ezra W. Reed, Assistant; Miss Sarah Cook, Teacher of Primary School.

STUDENTS.

Names.	*Residence.*	*Names.*	*Residence.*
Eliza Adams,	Ashby.	Harriet Ann Kimball,	Fitchburg.
Fanny A. Bellows,	Fitchburg.	Charlotte E. Marshall,	"
Mary B. Boutelle,	"	Betsey Merriam,	"
Elizabeth B. Davis,	"	Abigail E. Ordway,	"
Mary Ann Davis,	"	Lusena Patch,	Fitzwilliam, N. H.
Eliza R. Day,	"	Ann Maria Putnam,	Fitchburg.
Hannah Dole,	"	Mary J. Sheldon,	"
Relief V. Everett,	"	Dorothy Smith,	"
Lucy H. Everett,	"	Martha F. Snow,	"
Mary Ann Fox,	"	Rebeckah B. Tuttle,	"
Mary Ann Goodridge,	"	Mary Ann Wakefield,	"
Asenath Goodrich,	Lunenburg.	Betsey Wheeler,	"
Hannah Goodrich,	Fitchburg.	Nancy H. White,	Ashburnham.
Martha Goodrich,	"	Josanna Wilder,	Fitchburg.
Susan Holt,	"	Susan Willard,	Langdon, N. H.
Abigail L. Johnson,	"	Amanda M. Willis,	Fitchburg.
Dorothy Kimball,	"	Dorothy M. Wood,	Ashburnham.

Joel C. Allen,	Leominster.	Timothy L. Boutelle,	Leominster.
E. Foster Bailey,	Fitchburg.	*John G. Burbank,	Fitchburg.
Goldsmith F. Bailey,	"	Israel Carter,	"

*In the languages.

S. Melville Caswell,	Fitchburg.	Samuel P. Lovett,	Beverly.
David A. Corey,	Ashburnham.	*Martin S. Newton,	Fitchburg.
Orange G. Cowee,	Westminster.	William D. Newton,	"
*George A. Cushing,	Lunenburg.	*William Nichols,	Leominster.
Joseph H. Davis,	Fitchburg.	A. Thomas Oakman,	Fitchburg.
A. Jackson Dean,	"	Charles N. Ordway,	"
Stephen W. Dole,	"	Silas Pratt,	"
Abel Farwell, Jr.,	"	Isaiah P. Putnam,	"
James K. Farwell,	"	Charles H. B. Snow,	"
Abel Fox,	"	Timothy Snow,	Lunenburg.
Alfred Fox,	"	William H. Snow,	Fitchburg.
*Charles J. Fox,	Jaffrey, N. H.	Willard E. Stearns,	Langdon, N. H.
Marcus Fox,	Fitchburg.	William B. Town,	Fitchburg.
Henry W. Haskell,	"	Warren C. Upton,	"
Ivers T. Jewett,	"	Alfred M. Wheeler,	"
Joseph A. Jewett,	Fitchburg.	Joshua Wilder,	"
Benjamin H. Johnson,	"	David P. Willard,	"
William S. Jones,	Lunenburg.	J. F. Edward Worcester,	"

Females, 34; Males, 42; Total, 76.

*In the languages.

PRIMARY SCHOOL.

Names.	*Residence.*	*Names.*	*Residence.*
Lucinda M. Alden,	Fitchburg.	Elmira Tilton,	Fitchburg.
Sarah L. Beckwith,	"	Ann M. Wetherbee,	"
Caroline R. Boutelle,	"	Adaline Willis,	"
Frances Ann Davis,	"		
Ann Maria Derby,	"	Samuel P. Davis,	"
Ann V. Everett,	"	Alexander H. Everett,	"
Rosamond Everett,	"	Lewis Phillips,	"
Eliza F. Kimball,	"	Asa Pratt,	"
Josephine Pratt,	"	Sanborn L. Sheldon,	"
Mary Ann Reed,	"	Abel A. Wheeler,	"
Esther F. Sheldon,	"	Francis Willis,	"

Females, 14; Males, 7; Total, 21; Sum Total, 97.

Of this number, who were pupils sixty-five years ago, at least eleven are now living: Martha Goodrich, Dorothy Kimball, (now Mrs. E. F. Bailey), Betsey Merriam, mother of reporter Charles C. Harris, Amanda Willis, now Mrs. Brown of Concord, Mass., Adaline Willis, now Mrs. Snow,

Charles N. Ordway of Tenn., brother of Alfred R. Ordway, Willard E. Stearns, now living with J. F. D. Garfield, A. Jackson Dean of Dean Hill, Warren C. Upton, recently retired from business, and E. F. Bailey, one of the older members of the Fitchburg Historical Society.

October 30th, the following circular was issued:

REGULATIONS OF THE FITCHBURG CLASSICAL SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

The next term will commence on Monday, 15th November next, and continue eleven weeks, when instruction will be given in the following branches, which will be divided into five departments. Terms of tuition annexed to each.

PRIMARY DEPARTMENT.—Learning to Read and Spell, First Principles of Arithmetic, and Introduction to Geography. For instruction in any or all these branches, $3.00 per term.

SECOND DEPARTMENT.—Writing and Making Pens, Arithmetic, Grammar, Ancient and Modern Geography. For instruction in any or all of these branches, including the First Department, $3.50 per term.

THIRD DEPARTMENT.—History, Rhetoric, Botany, Moral Philosophy, Political Economy and Logic. For instruction in any or all of these branches, including the First and Second Departments, $4.50 per term.

FOURTH DEPARTMENT.—Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Algebra, Geometry and Trigonometry, connected with Surveying and Astronomy, including the use of Apparatus and occasional Lectures. For instruction in any or all of these branches, including the preceding Departments, $4.50 per term.

FIFTH DEPARTMENT.—Latin and Greek Languages, $5.00 per term, including any of the afore-mentioned branches, if desired.

Declamation included in each department, and Composition in the three last, which will be the exercises of Wednesday afternoon exclusively.

Any wishing to attend to Music, can take lessons of a competent instructress, by which they will incur an additional expense of Tuition.

No student will be admitted for a less term than six weeks unless by particular contract—and no deduction of Tuition on account of absence, except in case of actual sickness.

No tuition will be required in advance, but bills will become due at the end of each term—and any student leaving before the close of the term, will be charged with tuition until the bills are paid.

Any damage done to the school-room must be repaired by the student doing it, or the expense of repairing will be charged in his bills. The government will be paternal and preventive. A student who does not yield due obedience to it, after suitable reprimand will be dismissed.

All Books and Stationery used in the school, kept by the teacher, for the accommodation of students who wish to purchase anew.

The encouragement which this school has received since its commencement in November last, will, we think, render it a permanent institution. The year will be divided into four terms of eleven weeks each, commencing in August. There will be a vacation of one week at the close of the first and third terms, and one of three weeks at the close of the second and fourth.

B. COOK, Teacher.

The art of making pens here referred to, was an exercise in manual training which has since become obsolete. Before the advent of steel pens, goose quills were used for writing, and were as much an article of merchandise as paper and ink. But to make a good pen from one of these quills was, it appears, a special branch of instruction.

In the *Fitchburg Gazette*, July 26th, 1831, we find this notice:

FITCHBURG CLASSICAL SCHOOL. The next term will commence August 22d, next, and in addition to the branches already taught, instruction will be given in the French language, and Painting by a female teacher, whose recommendations are sufficient to ensure confidence in her qualifications.

Terms of tuition from $3 to $5 for a term of eleven weeks, varying according to the studies pursued. Books and stationery kept by the teachers for the convenience of those wishing to purchase anew. Three more students can have rooms and board with the teacher.

B. COOK, Teacher.

Primary school connected with the above, will commence at the same time, where masters and misses from three to ten years of age may receive instruction in the usual branches for 12½ cents per week.

B. COOK.

At the end of this term Mr. Cook closed his connection with the school; was in the book and newspaper business here for a brief period, but soon after returned to Keene

and entered the newspaper and publishing business there. He died in Keene August 8th, 1852. Mr. Cook was succeeded by William Torrey and Ezra W. Reed, who after trying the experiment of keeping separate schools for one term, formed a copartnership and joined their forces.

The following notice of Torrey's school is found in the *Fitchburg Gazette*, dated October 31st of the same year.

NOTICE. The winter term of the Fitchburg High School will commence on the 21st of November next, and under the care of Mr. Torrey. The Directors, having full confidence in the ability of Mr. Torrey, ask a share of the public patronage. Instruction given in any branch of English studies as well as in the Latin, Greek and French languages; board can be obtained on reasonable terms: reference to Rev. Calvin Lincoln, Natt Wood, Esq., B. Cook, the present teacher, and to Drs. Marshall and Abercrombie.

TERMS.—Common English Branches, $3.00; Higher English Branches and Mathematics, $4.00; Languages, $5.00.

CHARLES W. WILDER, by Order.

The following year, in which Mr. Torrey and Mr. Reed were in partnership, was not very promising as a financial venture, as will be seen by the following letter to Elisha Garfield, Langdon, N. H., dated Fitchburg, February 23, 1832:

"You will see by the other side of this sheet that I have concluded to stay here a little longer, but how long, depends on circumstances. We are in hopes to have scholars enough to pay our board, but we do not expect to have a large number at present. Torrey will commence next Monday, but my school will not close until the last of next week, at which time I shall go in with him. We are determined to give our whole attention to it, whether we have few or many, and render the school a good one. Yours &c. E. W. REED."

The other side of the sheet referred to contained this prospectus:

FITCHBURG HIGH SCHOOL.

The next term of this institution will commence on Monday, the 27th of February next, when instruction will be given in the following branches, which will be divided into three departments:

FIRST DEPARTMENT.—Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, Ancient and Modern Geography, $3.00 per term.

SECOND DEPARTMENT.—History, Rhetoric, Natural Philosophy, Logic, Chemistry, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying and Astronomy, $4.00 per term.

THIRD DEPARTMENT.—Greek, Latin and French Languages, $5.00. Declamation and Composition will be included in each Department.

GOVERNMENT AND REGULATIONS.—It will be the object of the Instructors to introduce no regulations for the government of the school but such as are reasonable and necessary, to which every student will be required to render implicit obedience. Profanity and immorality will be earnestly discountenanced, and every exertion made to maintain and encourage a uniform propriety of conduct. Any student, after suitable reprimand, obstinately refusing to obey the regulations, will be dismissed. Students will be required to repair any damage done to the school-room through their agency. The situation of the School is pleasant and retired, and the Academy building large and commodious. The Instructors, being determined to spare no exertions which may conduce to the improvement of those entrusted to their tuition, hope to be able to give general satisfaction.

WILLIAM TORREY,
EZRA W. REED, } Instructors.

FITCHBURG, MASS., Jan. 31, 1832.

Mr. Torrey fitted for college at Wrentham academy, was a student at Harvard college, and died here June 12, 1835. Mr. Reed was an assistant teacher after Mr. Cook went into the Academy building, and after his dissolution with Mr. Torrey was clerk in the post-office, and afterwards a merchant. He was the first editor of the *Fitchburg Sentinel*, commencing in 1838; married, first, Mary, daughter of Elisha Garfield of Langdon, N. H., and second, Mary J., daughter of Capt. Zachariah Sheldon; he died in Fitchburg January 9, 1840.

The next school kept in the Academy building appears to have been more successful than its immediate predecessor. Mr. William Cushing, a graduate of Harvard college, was principal, assisted by Miss Emily Gardner, who had previously taught a school for young ladies, and Miss Caroline A. Cushing of Lunenburg.

Mr. Cushing was a thorough scholar, and some of his pupils now living speak very highly of him as a teacher. He established a new method of instruction in spelling by which one pupil corrected the mistakes of another, a system which might be used to advantage in these latter days. He was principal of the Academy eight terms in all, from 1832 to 1836. He was also editor, for a short time, of a weekly paper printed at Fitchburg called the *Christian Messenger.*

Among those who attended the first classical school and afterward went to Mr. Cushing, was William B. Town. Mr. Town died comparatively a young man, but from the time he left the Academy to the date of his death was a prominent and influential citizen. After leaving Fitchburg, Mr. Cushing taught school in Lowell and Boston, entered Harvard Divinity school in 1837, graduated in 1839, and was occupied as preacher, teacher and farmer till 1868, when he removed to Cambridge and became assistant librarian in Harvard college library, which position he held for ten years. Most of the time from 1878 he was engaged in literary work as an author and publisher. He died in Cambridge August 27, 1895.

After Mr. Cushing, there were two rival classical schools; one at the Academy and the other at the brick chapel on Rollstone street. The first high school at the brick chapel was under the tutorship of Samuel Hopkins Emery, to whom we are indebted for a copy of his first circular. It reads as follows:

To the Public.—The first term of a High School, to be opened in the Brick Chapel in Fitchburg village, will commence on Wednesday, the 2d day of March. Instruction will be given in all the branches of English studies, also in the Latin, Greek, French and German languages.

Tuition for common branches of English studies, $3.00; for higher branches, $4.00; for Languages, $5.00.

SAMUEL H. EMERY, Principal.

Fitchburg, February 17, 1836.

Mr. Emery graduated at Amherst College in 1834, at Andover Theological Seminary in 1837; was afterwards ordained as a minister, which profession he followed till 1876; subsequently city missionary at Taunton, where he now resides; is president of the Old Colony Historical Society; presided at their meeting April 24th of the present year, and delivered an address. Some of the pupils who attended the classical school kept by Mr. Cook in 1830, were in Mr. Emery's school in 1836: Harriet A. Kimball, Caroline R. Boutelle, Hannah Dole, Stephen W. Dole; others were William Dole, J. M. R. Eaton, Harriet Downe, afterwards Mrs. Eaton, James S. Eaton, afterwards instructor in Phillips academy and publisher of Eaton's Arithmetic, and Farrington McIntire. Mr. Emery, the principal, was brother of Rev. Joshua Emery, then pastor of the C. C. church.

Mr. Emery was succeeded at the chapel by John H. Avery, who entered Amherst college in 1834. In Mr. Huling's list of teachers, Mr. Avery is recorded as principal in 1837, but in a communication from Mr. Emery, dated June 26th, 1895, he says: "It is absolutely certain John H. Avery followed me, for I secured him. My term was cut short on account of sickness and I put Avery in my place. This was in 1836."

Mr. Avery was a remarkable man. In a letter bearing date, Cleveland, O., June 26th, 1893, he says he has the ability to run or walk as fast as ever, although eighty-seven years old. "Never took any medicine, never had the toothache or any other ache but what I could remedy; never called a physician; worked myself through Phillips academy, Union college and Andover Theological seminary."

One of Mr. Avery's pupils at the chapel was J. M. R. Eaton, who was subsequently connected with the schools of Fitchburg, more or less, for half a century. From Avery's school Mr. Eaton entered Amherst college, October 5th,

1836, and afterward taught a classical school during three autumn terms; first in the brick chapel in 1840 and finally on School street. Mr. Eaton's schools were all fairly well attended, and among his pupils were Josiah Norcross, brother of Amasa Norcross, John Andrews, Martha A. Howard, afterward wife of Rev. Joseph Emerson, Anna Wyman, Caroline Boutelle, Farrington McIntire, and Harriet Downe, afterward Mr. Eaton's wife. Mr. Norcross and Mr. Andrews afterward became physicians; the former practiced in partnership with Dr. T. R. Boutelle. Mr. Eaton was for many years a much respected clergyman, an earnest teacher and a valuable member of the school committee in this city. He now resides at Redlands, California.

Another teacher at the chapel, Nathaniel B. Fox, was first a student at Dartmouth and graduated at Amherst college in 1835. Mr. Emery thinks Mr. Fox must have commenced in 1837. Fox was then a theological student, and graduated at Andover in 1839; was five years a minister and then city missionary at Worcester. Died December 11th, 1848.

The teachers at the Academy during the years just mentioned were successively Rufus C. Torrey, Henry C. Whitman, and Jacob Caldwell. Mr. Torrey fitted for college at Wrentham academy, and graduated at Harvard in 1833. Subsequently he spent four or five years in Fitchburg teaching, writing for newspapers, and in 1836 wrote what is known as Torrey's History of Fitchburg. Although some errors and inaccuracies may have crept in, it is the best of its kind. Some of the records contained therein it is the province of this society to correct, enlarge and improve. Mr. Torrey was a close student, a good teacher, and afterward a prominent lawyer, politician and office-holder. He died in Alabama, September 13, 1882.

Mr. Whitman entered Bowdoin college as a sophomore, but before graduation came to Fitchburg to study law with Torrey & Wood. He was at the Academy but a short time, but while there left his impress upon his pupils as a splendid teacher. He was admitted to the Worcester county bar in 1840; was appointed a clerk in the Treasury department at Washington the same year; subsequently he removed to Ohio, and, like Mr. Torrey, became a prominent lawyer and office-holder. His last residence was in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he died within a few years. A. P. Kimball, Ivers C., son of Col. Phillips, Warren C. and Thomas C. Upton, were among Mr. Whitman's pupils.

Jacob Caldwell was first a student at Amherst, but graduated from Harvard college in 1828. He was a native of Lunenburg, was a teacher at the Academy for a short time, and in other places for several years. He graduated at Harvard Divinity school in 1841, and was well known in this locality as a Unitarian clergyman. He had a deformity which somewhat interfered with his usefulness as a teacher, although otherwise well qualified for the position. His school was fairly attended, and E. F. Bailey, J. R. Brigham, A. R. Ordway, James P. Putnam, Mary Putnam, Stephen Dole, Joseph Pierce, and George Cunninghan of Lunenburg, were some of his pupils. Henry A. Hale was also a pupil of Mr. Caldwell, and rang the bell and took care of the school-room for his tuition.

The question naturally arises why there should have been two schools of about the same grade kept in this town during these years, when the meagre population and the means of the people were barely sufficient to support one? It may be that the old rule of competition in business was a factor in the case, but it is generally conceded that the religious bias of the parents or guardians had something to do with the location of the pupil, whether

at the Academy or the brick chapel. Happily for this generation, so far as the High School is concerned, that feeling has passed away, and character and qualification are considered of more importance than creed or dogma.

In 1838 and 1839 the Fitchburg Academy was kept by Cragin and Waldo. Charles H. Cragin was at the time a medical student with Dr. Jonas A. Marshall. He had previously fitted for college at Appleton academy, New Ipswich, and Lawrence academy, Groton, and graduated at Amherst in 1837. His associate, Giles Waldo, was a theological student at Yale college, and had some experience as a teacher before he came to Fitchburg. It is the testimony of some who were then students, that they were men of high character and kept a good school.

One of the prominent scholars of this time was Goldsmith F. Bailey. Mr. Bailey afterward became a noted lawyer, was postmaster in 1851–2, was in both branches of the legislature, and after a memorable contest with Eli Thayer, was sent to congress in 1860, but died before the expiration of his term of service, in the zenith of his manhood. One of his colleagues in congress said of him: "What we ordinarily call education was finished substantially at the age of sixteen; but he early discovered that the only true culture is self-culture, the only true development is self-development."

Other pupils were William Kimball, the Farwell boys, and A. J. Hickey, afterward known as Col. Duganne. The life of Col. Duganne is a chapter of romantic history. His father was once a government officer at Constantinople, his mother a daughter of wealthy French parents, by whom she was disinherited in consequence of her marriage. After the death of his mother, Augustine was placed in an orphan asylum. He was afterward employed in the *Fitchburg Sentinel* office. His fondness for books was very early developed, as well as his ability as a

writer. His only academic education must have been obtained under the tutorship of Cragin and Waldo. By an act of the New York legislature, his name was subsequently changed from A. J. Hickey to A. J. H. Duganne, the latter being his mother's maiden name. He was a ready writer, and his poems are especially unique in character, and display a wonderful command of language with great vigor of expression. He was in active service during the rebellion as colonel of the 176th New York regiment, was taken prisoner, and endured the hardships of prison life for eleven months in Texas. His war books were afterward published by the New York bureau of military records. After the death of his wife it was his intention to return to Fitchburg, but he died before his plans were realized, October 20, 1884.

To the usual academic studies, which included nearly all languages taught in high schools and colleges, Cragin and Waldo added Hebrew. Mr. Cragin died in April, 1887. His son, Charles H. Cragin, is now practising law in Washington, D. C.

Some of the scholars in these early schools were among the first to enter college from Fitchburg. The first student fitted for college in this town was Martin S. Newton, who graduated at Harvard, class of 1835. He afterward entered the legal profession; died at Rochester, N. Y., December 14, 1868. His brother, William D. Newton, entered college but did not graduate. J. M. R. Eaton graduated at Amherst in 1841. C. H. B. Snow, after several years at the Academy, was at Phillips Exeter in 1839, entered Harvard in 1840; afterwards was a prominent lawyer; was much interested in educational matters, and was one year state senator. At the time of his death, September 18, 1875, he was one of the school committee, and chairman of the board of trustees of the public library. The two Newtons and Mr. Snow were all pupils of Mr. Cook

in 1830. Leonard Downe, an uncle to E. P. Downe and Joseph A. Tufts, graduated at Harvard college, class of 1822. He died two years later, was buried in the little burial ground on West street, where a monument was erected to his memory by his college classmates. His diploma was signed by J. Thornton Kirkland, then president of Harvard college, for whom the late Judge Thornton Kirkland Ware was named. Ebenezer Torrey and Nathaniel Wood were at Harvard with Mr. Downe, but neither of them fitted for college in Fitchburg.

Asa Thurston graduated at Yale college in 1816, but he must have taken his preparatory course outside of Fitchburg. He was the pioneer missionary to the Sandwich Islands, residing forty years at the royal capital, the instructor of kings, translator of the Bible, one of the most remarkable men that ever emanated from this town.

With the opening of the second decade in its history, the Fitchburg Academy had come to be regarded as an institution worthy of its name. After a ten years struggle for existence, under nine different masters and three different names, the school came under the charge of Farrington McIntire, a native of Fitchburg, who had fitted for college at Worcester academy, and at Appleton academy, New Ipswich. The whole number of different students during the year was 121, the greater portion of them young men. There were four terms of eleven weeks each year, and the tuition was graded as follows: Common English $3.00, higher English branches $4.00, languages $5.00, music $7.00; painting $2.00 extra.

During the year ending November 20th, 1841, there were, beside the principal, three assistant teachers: Miss Julia A. McIntire, Miss Sarah L. Beckwith and Miss Amanda M. Willis, the latter teacher of music. These names are still familiar to many residents of Fitchburg. By far the greater number of students at this time took only the common English branches, so that the expense of obtaining

the advantages of a high grade school was not extravagant. Out of town students could obtain good board in respectable families at $1.50 per week.

Many of those who attended this school are still in active life; among them your honored President, Henry A. Willis, B. F. Brown of Boston, Horace Damon, Frederick Davis, Henry A. Goodrich, Charles H. Newton of Calais, Me., Alfred R. Ordway, Joseph Pierce, James F. Stiles, Capt. James M. Upton of Boston, Thomas C. Upton, Winchester Wyman, Farrington Works, Martha Cowdin, now Mrs. Sheldon, Sarah A. Town, now Mrs. Billings and Louisa C. Willis, now Mrs. Upton.

Others from Fitchburg who were pupils under Mr. McIntire, are included in the following list:

Artemas F. Andrews,
Leander Andrews,
John L. Atherton,
Daniel W. Bemis,
George G. Burbank,
Charles A. Boutelle,
James R. Burditt,
James M. Collier,
Lyman N. Collier,
Simeon B. Crane,
George T. Durant,
William T. Durant,
William H. Eaton,
Levi Farwell,
George Gerry,
Thomas Y. Hale,
Charles Hall,
Nathan W. Hudson,
Oliver Kendall,
Charles W. Kendall,
Benjamin C. Kendall,
Henry J. Lowe,
Calvin A. Lincoln,
Lincoln McIntire,
Joseph E. Manning,
Lowell N. Moulton,
Josiah Norcross,
Alvin Perley,
Henry T. Pratt,
Charles E. Pratt,
Charles Parker,
John Roach,
George P. Stevens,
Sanborn L. Sheldon,
Jabez Sawyer,
Henry T. Sheldon,
William Sawyer,
Augustus Sawyer,
Henry F. Stone,
John Stimson,
Abial K. Town,
George E. Town,
Lewis G. Tuttle,
Daniel W. Tuttle,
Leonard Tufts,
Jacob E. Tolman,
Thomas B. Thurston,
Washburn W. Woodward,
Francis M. Willis,
Silas C. Waters.

Mary P. Brown,
Anna B. Bowers,
Mary Carlton,
Mary J. Caldwell,
Abigail C. Caldwell,
Charlotte Dole,
Mary J. Flint,
Mary C. Green,
Emily Hall,
Susan B. Holt,
Martha A. Holt,
Mary E. Kendall,
Mary F. Kimball,
Eliza A. McIntire,
Ellen McIntire,
Loenza B. McIntire,
Lucy A. Marshall,
Sarah C. Newton,
Ellen M. Newton,
Abby M. Newton,
Abby Newton,
Hannah Nye,
Eliza Oakman,
Elizabeth A. Polley,
Sarah E. Pollard,
Harriet Parker,
Hannah Parker,
Sarah J. Pratt,
Mary E. Pratt,
Hannah G. Parker,
Mary P. Putnam,
Sarah Richardson,
Esther F. Sheldon,
Orinda A. Sheldon,
Sarah M. Sampson,
Sarah F. Torrey,
Marcia O. Tracy,
Frances C. Thurston,
Elvira F. Works.

Mr. McIntire was good in mathematics and languages, but he took special interest in astronomy and philosophy, and had quite an extensive philosophical apparatus. One day he brought into school a live rat, in a large glass jar ventilated on top, for the purpose of illustrating the use of air as a vital element. Exhausting the air from the jar with an air-pump, the antics of the rat during this performance were amusing, if not instructive, to the whole school.

As before stated, the common English classes greatly outnumbered the classical. The Greek class consisted of a a solitary member, Calvin A. Lincoln, son of Rev. Calvin Lincoln, then pastor of the Unitarian church. The Latin class numbered from three to five students, while not more than a dozen took lessons in French. The late George E. Towne was one of the Latin class. He will long be remembered as one of the best presiding officers in town

meetings, and as one of the most fluent public speakers that Fitchburg ever produced.

Although fairly successful as a teacher, Mr. McIntire did not long continue in this occupation. He soon after entered Harvard college, and graduated at the Divinity school in 1846; was afterward ordained as a Unitarian clergyman, and subsequently for several years had a school for boys at Grafton, Mass. He had a practical turn for business; but in his later, as in his earlier years, astronomy was his favorite theme, and he ultimately became quite a noted lecturer upon this subject. Mr. McIntire was a much respected citizen, and a man of untiring energy and perseverance. He died in July, 1893.

Concerning the immediate successor of Mr. McIntire little is known. C. S. Mann advertised to open the Fitchburg Academy on the 28th of February, 1842. In addition to the branches usually taught there, he proposed to give lectures on "the wonders of natural science" at intervals during the term. His new departure, however, does not appear to have warranted the experiment, for there is no record of a second term. He afterward graduated at Harvard medical school, became a physician and was surgeon of the 31st Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers.

During the summer term of the same year, Elizabeth King and Amanda M. Willis opened a classical school for young ladies in the Academy. In addition to common English, they gave instruction in French, music, painting, drawing and needle-work. Miss King, two years afterward, married Hon. Henry C. Whitman, principal of the Academy in 1837, and is now living in Cincinnati, Ohio. Miss Willis was married, in 1846, to John Brown, Jr. of Concord, Mass., where she has since resided.

The fall term of the same year, 1842, was under the charge of John Brooks Beal of Scituate. Mr. Beal had previously been a teacher in Stow academy, and came here

well recommended. In his first circular he announced that he should endeavor "to mingle pleasure and delight with the studies so far as compatible with strict discipline." At the opening, many of the pupils previously mentioned in Mr. McIntire's list were in attendance, the writer among the number.

Mr. Beal was not a very robust man, and his first experience in the Academy here was an unfortunate one. At the commencement of the afternoon session he was seized with an epileptic fit and fell flat upon the platform, to the great consternation of the scholars. He was carried by Edwin D. Works and others to a neighboring pupil's house, and it was a long time before he fully recovered. His stay in Fitchburg was brief, but he will be remembered as a genial man and a pleasant teacher. Later in life he went to New York, and died there several years ago.

The next in order and the most prominent of all the academic teachers was Stephen Holman, who commenced with the fall term, September 1, 1843. He was a graduate of Williams college, and had previously taught schools in Winchester, N. H., Gardner, Athol and Phillipston. Mr. Holman at once added new life and vigor to the Fitchburg Academy. Well versed in all the higher branches of instruction, he was an especially good mathematician, was a good disciplinarian, and made it a personal matter to look after the interests of every pupil intrusted to his charge. He took great pride, also, in interesting his scholars upon current events outside the school-room, as the following incident will illustrate: One day in 1846, after the breaking out of the Mexican war, he passed round among the scholars a newspaper containing the news of a battle in Mexico. In those days such a thing as a daily paper was rarely seen in a school-room.

Unlike most of the earlier teachers, Mr. Holman was a regular pedagogue. Nearly all those who preceded him

and many who came after were students—medical, theological or law—while Holman, as a teacher made teaching his business. It is true he read law for a while with Milton Whitney, but it never interfered with his duties as a teacher. A list of his numerous pupils would contain several members of this Society, including the president, a vice-president and the secretary. It would also include the state auditor, the city auditor, and many other long-time residents of Fitchburg, who could testify to the value of Mr. Holman's early instruction.

Mr. Holman's assistants, in the order named, were Miss Maria F. Young, Miss Emily Weld, Charles Cummings, Amasa Norcross, and Miss Mary Kimball of Rindge, N. H. Mr. Norcross was not a regular teacher, but at one time assisted by hearing recitations. This primal service in Fitchburg, marks the beginning of a remarkable career as lawyer, legislator, mayor and congressman.

Charles T. Crocker, one of our most successful business men, was then a pupil. A few years later he entered Brown university, and graduated in 1854.

Some of the text-books in use at this time were Day's Algebra, Playfair's Euclid, Andrews and Stoddard's Latin Grammar and Reader, Cæsar's Commentaries, Virgil's Æneid and Xenophon's Anabasis. Another text book quite extensively used was "Mason on National and State Governments," a work published by Charles Mason, Esq., of this city.

Mr. Holman was succeeded at the Academy by J. R. Gaut, a graduate of Amherst college, class of 1842. Mr. Gaut was a fine-looking, dignified gentleman of scholarly appearance. He was principal of the Westminster academy for six years, and had acquired a good reputation as a teacher, so much so as to attract some students from Fitchburg to Westminster. A member of this Society, William M. Willis, was a pupil of his both here and at

Westminster. The pecuniary emoluments were not sufficient to induce Mr. Gaut to remain long in Fitchburg. He was afterwards twenty years in the book business in Philadelphia, and died there April 6, 1875.

Stephen Holman was principal at the Academy both before and after Mr. Gaut; meanwhile taught a private school in a room on Main street. No less than ten of his students have since been members of the legislature: Charles T. Crocker, J. F. D. Garfield, Henry A. Goodrich, John B. Goodrich, Charles Heywood of Gardner, John W. Kimball, Amasa Norcross, George E. Towne, Henry A. Willis and Daniel H. Whitney of Boston, formerly of Harvard.

After leaving Fitchburg Mr. Holman went to Holyoke, where he was paymaster of the Lyman mills, afterward treasurer of the Holyoke Paper Co., Holyoke Machine Co., Deane Steam Pump Co., and Holyoke Foundry. For several years past he has resided in Worcester.

The next teacher at the Academy was Charles E. Stevens, late register of probate and insolvency for Worcester county. Mr. Stevens graduated at Dartmouth college, class of 1835. Although not remarkably successful as a teacher or as a disciplinarian, he exhibited fine taste in art, literature and history. While a student at Andover Theological seminary he read Macaulay's essay on Milton in the Edinburgh Review, that author being then comparatively little known in America, and subsequently compiled the first collection of Macaulay's essays published on either side of the Atlantic. He was a member of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, and was the author of several historical publications. He died at Worcester December 13, 1893, in his seventy-ninth year, much respected by all who knew him.

Another, and the last of the academic teachers, was a southern gentleman, a native of Florida, who came to

Massachusetts to obtain a collegiate education. Louis I. Fleming graduated at Amherst college in 1847. After his short experience here as a teacher he returned to Florida, studied law at Jacksonville, and was a prominent figure in his native state till the day of his death, which occurred during the epidemic of 1888. Mr. Fleming's term of service as teacher was not marked by any special features. The number of scholars was not large enough to make it specially interesting or profitable.

In reviewing the lives of these early teachers, one thing is quite noticeable. Of the whole number, a majority lived beyond the allotted age of man, six reached the four-score limit, and some of the number are now living. This fact furnishes presumptive evidence that education is conducive to longevity.

During the last years of its existence the interest in the Fitchburg Academy began to wane. The subject of a free high school was continually agitated and the school committee stoutly urged its adoption. Finally the town voted to establish such an institution and at the March meeting in 1849 an appropriation of $800 was made for this purpose. By a statute of the commonwealth every town in the state containing 500 familes or more, was obliged to support a high school for the use of its inhabitants. Several attempts had been previously made to get an appropriation for that purpose in this town, all of which failed, until at last by the persistent efforts of the school committee and other leading citizens, the project was carried through.

The school committee at this time consisted of Ivers Phillips, Asa Farwell and T. K. Ware, and it is unnecessary to say that the influence of these men had much to do with the final result. The town had previously secured the Academy by purchase from the High School Association. The deed of the land conveyed by Capt. Sheldon to the Asso-

ciation was dated July 19th, 1830, recorded Book 282, page 612, and was sold by the trustees of the Association, Benjamin Snow, Abial J. Town and Nathaniel Wood, to the inhabitants of Fitchburg in conformity to a vote of the Association, April 29th, 1848.

This conveyance included all the land originally donated by Capt. Sheldon, except a narrow strip previously conveyed to Ivers Phillips, November 16th, 1835, who then owned the white house standing near the Academy. The price paid by the town, including the Academy building, was $2100; and was then, and must now be, considered a very favorable purchase. The old building was afterward sold to Thomas Palmer for a nominal sum.

THE FIRST FREE HIGH SCHOOL was organized under the following rules and regulations:

1. The instructors in this school shall be a master, and so many assistants as shall give one instructor to every forty pupils; but no additional assistant shall be allowed for less than twenty-one additional pupils. It shall be a necessary qualification in the principal instructor, that he shall have been educated at some respectable college.

2. No applicant shall be admitted as a member of this school under the age of twelve years; and the master shall require of every candidate for admission, previously to examination, a certificate from his parents or guardian that he is of the age required. No scholar shall continue in the school more than five years.

3. The examination of candidates for admission to the school will take place on the Friday next preceding the commencement of each term. No candidate will be admitted after the term has commenced, and no scholar leaving the school in the course of a term will be readmitted until the commencement of the next term.

4. It shall be the duty of the master to examine all candidates for admission in spelling, reading, writing, English grammar, modern geography and arithmetic, of which a thorough knowledge shall be indispensable to admission.

5. Each scholar shall, at the commencement of each term, have a seat assigned him or her in the school-room, and shall retain it throughout the term, and shall be liable for any injury it may receive while he or she occupies it.

6. The school shall begin on the first Monday of May in each year, and shall be kept four terms of eleven weeks each. At the expiration of the first, or summer term, there shall be a vacation of four weeks; at the expiration of the second, or fall term, one of one week; at the expiration of the third, or winter term, one of one week; at the expiration of the fourth, or spring term, one of two weeks.

7. The course of study and instruction in this school is as follows: 1. Reviews of preparatory studies in the text books authorized to be used in the district schools. 2. In Latin, Andrews' Latin Reader, Andrews and Stoddard's Latin Grammar, Arnold's Latin Prose Composition, Folsom's Cicero, Gould's Virgil, Cæsar's Commentaries. 3. In Greek, Crosby's or Sophocles' Greek Grammar and Lessons, Jacobs' Greek Reader. 4. In French, Ollendorf's New Method. 5. In Mathematics, Davies' Course of Mathematics, including his University Arithmetic, First Lessons in Algebra, Bourdon's Algebra, Legendre's Geometry. 6. Wells' Grammar. 7. Worcester's Ancient Geography. 8. Worcester's Universal History. 9. Whateley's Elements of Rhetoric. 10. Comstock's Philosophy. 11. Olmstead's Astronomy. 12. Silliman's Chemistry. 13. Cutter's Physiology.

Exercises in declamation and composition will be required of every male scholar in the school, and exercises in composition of every female scholar.

The committee in charge of the school at the time were Ivers Phillips, Alvah Crocker, T. K. Ware, G. F. Bailey, James B. Lane. Under these rules, with the small appropriation at their command, it was no easy task to secure the right kind of a teacher, for it must be remembered that, at this time and for several years previous according to the tables prepared by the state board of education, Fitchburg was low down in the scale of comparative liberality. Under the circumstances, the committee were remarkably fortunate in securing such a principal as Anson S. Marshall. By appointment Col. Phillips first met Mr. Marshall in a book-store in Boston, and then and there made the engagement. Mr. Marshall was a graduate of Dartmouth college, class of 1848; a gentleman of refinement and culture, as well as a thorough scholar. His commanding presence and genial manner

could not fail to make a favorable impression upon all with whom he came in contact.

On account of the large number of applications, the examination of candidates for the first term was, as we remember, somewhat exacting, and only eight boys and about fifty girls were admitted. The eldest scholar admitted was Joel Parker Chapin, who had already reached his majority without many of the advantages of a common-school education. Anxious to improve his opportunity, he somehow managed to qualify himself for admission to this school, with a view to the clerical profession. Here again he encountered new difficulties. His first attempts at declamation were complete failures, but by persistent efforts for several weeks he finally succeeded. He afterward studied theology, was ordained a clergyman, preached at Conway, N. H., and occasionally occupied the Baptist pulpit in this city. He died a few years since in North Leominster. Another of the older scholars admitted at the opening was Frank B. Willard, afterward a teacher, and now a retired farmer in West Boylston.

Among those admitted the first term or subsequent terms of Mr. Marshall were Frederic L. Brown, now of Charlestown; Edward J. Brown, afterward graduate of Harvard college, class of 1855; John A. Farwell, now a merchant in Chicago; William E. Hartwell, civil engineer, who died several years since; Charles K. Ide, late of Philadelphia, many years a prominent member of the Union League; Daniel Stearns, the first to enter college direct from the free high school; James S. Green, now a physician in Dorchester; John S. Sawyer of Cambridge; Z. Boylston Adams, who died in California; Daniel W. Bemis, George T. Daniels, Joseph A. Tufts, Sarah J. Bemis, the Estabrook sisters—Hannah and Lydia,—Nancy Fairbanks, Sarah Farwell, Mary R. Garfield, Rose Heywood, Lucy B. Hosmer, Jennie Hudson, Sarah Holt, Lizzie Lincoln, Jane Merriam,

Emily C. Newton, Harriet Phelps, Julia Stone, Mary Stone, Maria Thurston, Amelia F. Vose, Susan Vose, Louisa H. Wood, Lizzie Wilson and many others included in family groups to be mentioned hereafter.

Some of the older families in town were largely represented in these early schools. Every member of the Willis family, of four boys and four girls, was a pupil at the old Academy building at one time or another. Nine out of ten of the Woodward family followed the same lead. There were no less than six Kimballs and as many Goodriches; while the Phillips family, the Works family, the Downes, the Marshalls, McIntires, Uptons, Pratts, Townes and Torreys were well represented. The sons of Rev. Charles Woodhouse were also pupils here during their father's pastorate, which ended in 1852.

At the second term of Mr. Marshall many more boys were admitted, and the disproportion of boys and girls was not so apparent as during the first term. The average attendance at this time, and for the year following, was about eighty. Mr. Marshall's assistants were Emma E. White, Ellen B. Blood and Susan A. Skinner. Miss Blood commenced the second week of the third term. She was an excellent teacher and will be well remembered by those now living who were her pupils. She afterward married Ebenezer Gay of Hingham, now of Dorchester. Miss Skinner was assistant in 1851, after the resignation of Miss Blood.

The success of the Free High School the first year was sufficient to justify all that had been previously claimed for it. The school committee announced that a brighter day had dawned upon Fitchburg. The High School had become an established fact, and was in successful operation. The returns placed the town higher upon the graduated table, but they still indicated that the appropriations

were only about half as much to the scholar as in some other towns in the Commonwealth.

The school so far had progressed to the entire satisfaction of the committee and to the satisfaction of the community. Mr. Marshall had proved to be a gentleman peculiarly well qualified for his station and a most faithful teacher. He had endeared himself to his pupils by his kindly interest in their welfare. It was his habit to address the school sometimes for half an hour before hearing recitations. His favorite themes were deportment and physical culture. He frequently closed his dissertations by saying, "Avoid even the appearance of evil."

At the annual town meeting, in March, 1850, it was voted to try the experiment of a second department of the high school; the town to appropriate $300 if school district No. 1 would appropriate $200 out of its share of the school money; admission to this department to depend upon age, and to be under the charge of the school committee in the same manner as the High School. The rule adopted was to admit all who applied personally on the first morning of the term; if there were more applications than seats the younger must give place to the older. The committee obtained the services of Charles Lamb, an experienced teacher, who adopted the views of the town so heartily that the experiment was pronounced a success.

At the close of his second year as principal of the High School, Mr. Marshall sent in his resignation to take effect at the end of the summer term, much to the regret of his pupils, the school committee, and the community at large. He had already made arrangements for the study of his chosen profession and, after leaving Fitchburg, entered the law office of Franklin Pierce, afterward President of the United States. He at once became prominent in politics, was United States district attorney under President Buchanan, and several years chairman of the Democratic

state central committee. He was also intimately connected with railroad interests and for several years clerk of the famous Concord railroad.

The closing chapter of a life hitherto so successful and full of promise is a sad one. On July 4th, 1874, while enjoying a picnic with his family on the borders of a lake near the city of Concord, N. H. he was accidentally shot. The City Guard, a military company from Concord, were out for target practice, some distance away, but not far enough to retard the force of the fatal bullet. Mr. Marshall lived but a few hours after he was shot, and his untimely death was a shock to his friends wherever he was known.

The second principal of the free High School was Enoch G. Hooke, a graduate of Dartmouth college, class of 1851. While the change in teachers was somewhat marked, the personality of the school remained about the same. Henry B. Adams, Rufus S. Downe and S. P. Litchfield were among the new members. Mr. Hooke was of an imposing figure, more than six feet high, with broad, deep chest. Some idea of his strength may be gathered from the fact that while here, an apparatus for testing the capacity of the lungs came to town. Some of the older boys in school could blow 250 inches, some of the big men on the street blew a trifle over 300, while Mr. Hooke's capacity by this test was 404 cubic inches. But Mr. Hooke's strength as a disciplinarian was hardly commensurate with his physical development. He needed more tact in managing big boys and in his dealings with the school committee. In those days the school committee had general charge of the high school, and they were not slow to exercise their authority. At one time the larger boys resented a request that they should not enter the school-room with their trousers in the legs of their boots, so one day they all marched in from recess with a tremendous display of

boot-legs. Then came the tug of war, and with the help of the school committee, the offenders were forced to read apologies.

At first the committee were apparently satisfied with Mr. Hooke's efforts at discipline and his course of instruction. Except, as they said in their report, "Too much attention was given to the study of languages, particularly the French, to the exclusion of common English." Later on, however, matters began to assume a more warlike aspect. The member of the committee in charge the following year was a terror, not only to the scholars but to the teachers as well. The accent of a syllable, whether right or wrong, if it did not happen to meet his approval, was enough to excite a warm discussion. On one occasion he had a severe altercation with the teacher over a trivial matter, which culminated in Mr. Hooke's resignation, to take effect at the close of the term. His resignation was accepted, but the scholars did not share the views of the committee. They afterward gave Mr. Hooke a grand reception in the hall of the Fitchburg Hotel as an expression of their sympathy and good will. Mr. Hooke afterward studied law with Harvey Jewell, in Boston, and was admitted to the Suffolk bar, but went into practice in Chicago. He visited Fitchburg about two years since, and the writer had the pleasure of meeting him at the office of Norcross & Baker.

Miss Susan A. Skinner was assistant teacher under Mr. Hooke, and was succeeded by Lucy Ann Rice of Winchendon, who remained as assistant, with an interim of one year, till 1855. She afterward married Rev. Milan H. Hitchcock.

Mr. Hooke was succeeded by Martin S. Fiske of Temple, N. H., a graduate of Dartmouth college, class of 1852. Mr. Fiske was an extremely mild but scholarly individual, whose physical structure was in marked contrast to his

stalwart predecessor. His training as a teacher was hardly sufficient to warrant permanency in a large school of this character. Although engaged for a longer period he sent in his resignation to take effect at the close of the term, and it was unanimously accepted. His brief service in the Fitchburg High School could hardly be called a success, although he was a man of affable manners and kindly disposition. After leaving Fitchburg he appears to have been more successful and filled many important positions; was for a time civil engineer on the Ohio & Mississippi railroad, and afterward president of a college at Paducah, Kentucky. The college buildings were burned by confederate troops in 1862. Later on, in the seventies, Mr. Fiske was three years principal of the Ashburnham high school, and afterward, some six or seven years, at the head of the Manning high school at Ipswich. Since 1881 he has resided in his native town of Temple, N. H.

After the resignation of Mr. Fiske the school committee experienced great difficulty in finding a principal to suit them. Their means were limited by the town's appropriation and, in their opinion, were not adequate to secure a first-class teacher. At last they felt compelled, in fulfilling the necessities of the school, to deviate from the previous limit of salary. According to their views, there were two ideas concerning the school to be regarded as fixed facts, one of permanency, the other of rank. In conformity with this decision, E. H. Barstow was elected principal. The committee at this time consisted of James B. Lane, Dr. T. R. Boutelle, Moses G. Lyon and Rev. Elnathan Davis.

Mr. Barstow came fully equipped as an experienced teacher. After graduating at Dartmouth college in 1839, he was principal of the West Brattleborough academy one year, afterward at Lawrence academy, Groton, and Newton academy. While here Mr. Barstow fully sustained the

expectations of the committee, and proved himself an able and competent teacher, but was soon called to a higher field with a larger salary at Wilcox Institute, Ala. Afterward, in 1855, he opened a family school at Newton Centre, which continued five or six years. He died at Haverhill, N. H., in April, 1862. Mr. Barstow was a very devout man and always had prayers, both at the beginning and at the end of the day's sessions.

About this time, four young men in the High School were preparing to enter college. There were no regular courses as at present, but each student entered when he pleased, and continued as long as he pleased, provided he did not exceed the five years' limit laid down in the rule. John B. Goodrich entered Dartmouth college in 1853, George A. Torrey entered Harvard in 1855, George F. Vose went to Yale the same year, and Calvin M. Woodward, after two years more in the High School, entered Harvard in 1856. Messrs. Goodrich and Torrey are well known in the legal profession; both have been in the state legislature and in other prominent positions. Prof. Woodward of Washington University, St. Louis, is an educator of national reputation, and a champion of manual training. Mr. Vose was a young man of much promise, but died of consumption in 1867.

After Mr. Barstow's sudden departure the school committee were again in difficulty. With the small salary at their command they were handicapped in procuring a suitable teacher. Jonathan C. Brown was engaged at a salary of $700 per year, with the expectation that his stay would be permanent. In this they were disappointed. Although possessing some excellent traits as a teacher, yet his manner, spirit and phraseology in the management of the school did not meet the approval of the committee. He was often indiscreet with his pupils as well as with the school committee. One of his peculiarities was the giving of long

problems in interest to be solved only in the head. In these exercises he encouraged competition for the first place. Calvin M. Woodward and Maria Farwell proved to be the most proficient in this sort of mental gymnastics.

Rev. Dr. Jennings was then chairman of the school committee, and his daughter Isabel was assistant teacher. The principal and assistant did not agree upon certain points, which fact Miss Jennings reported to her father. Then came a serious disagreement between Mr. Brown and the committee. One morning Dr. Jennings came into school, ordered Mr. Brown off the platform and commenced to catechise the scholars. Having secured a confirmation of certain things reported to have been said by Mr. Brown, Dr. Jennings asked "What was his manner when he talked about the committee and the assistant teacher?" The room was still for a moment when Josiah Trask, one of the older boys, shouted triumphantly, "Sarcastic." This was too much for the Reverend Doctor. Mr. Brown was then and there discharged and the school was dismissed, three weeks before the end of his second term.

This episode finds a parallel in one of Will Carlton's Farm Legends, entitled the School-master's Guests—wherein the spokesman of the school committee, a grave squire of sixty, with countenance solemnly sad, enters the school, enumerates all the faults of the teacher, while the scholars, on hand for amusement, lay down all their cumbersome books.

In the second department of the High School, the town was more fortunate. The continued services of Charles Lamb more than sustained his former reputation. The only drawback to complete success in this department was the insufficiency and unpleasantness of the school-room.

In 1854 a new era dawned upon the public schools of Fitchburg. At the March meeting the town voted the lib-

eral sum of $5,500 for the support of schools, $4,000 more than was appropriated ten years previous. Encouraged by this liberality the school committee made strenuous efforts to secure the services of Eli A. Hubbard as principal of the High School. Mr. Hubbard was at this time associate principal of the Williston seminary at Easthampton. He finally accepted the position tendered him here, but as the principal of the Williston seminary was then in Europe, Mr. Hubbard made it a condition of his coming to Fitchburg, that his place here should be supplied by a substitute during the first term. Accordingly Milan H. Hitchcock, then a member of the senior class in Amherst college, was temporarily engaged. Mr. Hitchcock assumed charge of the school under unfavorable circumstances, but by his diligence, his ability and gentlemanly deportment, he acquitted himself with satisfaction to the pupils and the school committee. Before the end of the first term, however, he was positively recalled by the faculty of the college, much to the chagrin and disappointment of the committee in charge. Mr. Hubbard commenced his labors as principal of the high school at the opening of the second term. His high character, mental training, long experience and previous success had already established his reputation as a first-class teacher. During his first year in Fitchburg he won the esteem and admiration of his pupils, the school committee and community as well.

The school committee at this time was Dr. Charles Robinson, afterward governor of Kansas, Moses G. Lyon, Elnathan Davis, Josiah Marvin and G. F. Bailey. During the year Dr. Robinson left for Kansas, Moses G. Lyon was elected to the legislature and thereupon resigned his place on the committee, so that the duties of the board devolved upon the three remaining members. The following year Rev. Mr. Marvin was chairman of the school board. In their report the committee paid a glowing trib-

ute to the high school and its teachers. They claimed that the town might justly be proud at having reached an eminence to which but few of its neighbors were able to attain. This happy state of affairs was in striking contrast to the multifarious muddle which existed two years previous. During the year Miss Rice, who had been so long connected with the school, resigned and Miss O. Amelia Richardson was employed as assistant. She came highly recommended as a thorough and accomplished teacher.

At the town meeting in April, 1855, the town voted to abolish the second department of the High School, and to establish three schools of about the same grade to be known as grammar schools—one at Day street, one at West street and one at West Fitchburg. At the Day street school, Mr. Lamb, who had successfully conducted the second department of the high school from its inception, was appointed to take charge of the wayward spirits who were wont to assemble there. J. J. Hernden, a prominent citizen of Blackstone, was engaged for West street, and James M. Woodbury, a well known teacher of this town, for West Fitchburg. These schools, so auspiciously begun, have, with some changes in teachers and location, continued to furnish recruits for the High School.

In 1857 the necessity for better accommodations for the High School became more and more apparent. The old Academy building had nearly fulfilled its mission, and the project of a new building was agitated. The school under Mr. Hubbard's supervision had attained a high rank. After three years of unabated success Mr. Hubbard decided at the commencement of the fall term that he must leave at its close. This decision was not only a great disappointment to his pupils, but the school committee feared that any teacher attempting to follow him would not meet their expectations. Mr. Hubbard was afterward for eight years superintendent of schools in Springfield, and two

years in Fitchburg. From 1875 he was for several years state agent of the Massachusetts Board of Education. He is now living in quiet retirement at Holyoke.

Among Mr. Hubbard's pupils was Sullivan W. Huntley, to whom we are indebted for many of the names in the subjoined list. Time will admit the special mention of only a few—C. P. Bailey, who afterward entered Dartmouth college, Francis H. Boynton, who entered Amherst college in 1857, George F. Works, Harvard, '57, Fred W. Eveleth, Dartmouth, '58, Frank H. Snow, Williams, '58, E. B. Sawtelle, Harvard, '58, A. O. Hitchcock, Dartmouth, '59, C. H. Comee, several years connected with the Vermont & Massachusetts railroad, E. P. Downe, secretary Fitchburg Mutual Fire Insurance Company, W. I. Marshall, a noted lecturer, and Charles K. Sawyer, now one of the assessors.

Those who afterward enlisted in the Union army were, George H. Bailey, Charles H. Caldwell, William M. Caldwell, Edwin A. Harris, A. O. Hitchcock, Frank S. Marshall, Joseph A. Marshall, Herbert D. McIntire, John H. Prichard, Alvin M. Sawyer, John Simonds, J. Calvin Spaulding, Augustus A. Simonds, Fred H. Sibley, Charles E. Upton, and George F. Works. The story of their valor and their fate is already on record in Willis' "Fitchburg in the Rebellion." Martha D. Tolman, Eliza Trask, now known as Eliza Trask Hill, and Mary Underwood, better known as Mary Lowe Dickinson, have since been prominent in educational and philanthropic work—Miss Tolman as a graceful writer, Eliza Trask Hill as a platform speaker and writer, and Mary Lowe Dickinson as speaker, writer and organizer, whose influence is recognized far and wide. The following were also pupils of Mr. Hubbard:

T. C. Bailey,
Edwin S. Burnap,
William F. Buttrick,
Theodore Davis,
Charles H. Greene,
Fred W. Ide,

James Marshall,
Frank Russell,
E. A. Sherwin,
Charles Timon,
John A. Wheeler,
S. A. Wheeler, Jr.,
Frank Whitcomb,
Wallace Younglove,

Mary J. Ames,
Sarah Ames,
Rebecca Boutelle,
Dora W. Boutelle,
Mary S. Buttrick,
Anna Bradford,
Helen M. Burnap,
Mary L. Parker,
Eliza A. Barker,
Lottie Caldwell,
Jennie Clifford,
Lucy A. Caswell,
Mary L. Daniels,
Abby L. Daniels,
Mary Davis,
Clara H. Dole,
Nellie Eveleth,
Mattie M. Fairbanks,
Ellen W. Fairbanks,
Jane Farwell,
Maria T. Farwell,
S. Maria Garfield,
Kate Goodrich,
Abby F. Goodrich,
Lizzie Gibson,
Clara D. Hosmer,
Mattie A. Holt,
Anna S. Haskell,
Kate F. Haskell,
Abbie J. Hawkins,
Mary E. Hartwell,
Nellie Heywood,
May E. Jefts,
Abbie Kimball,
Lizzie P. Lowe,
Carrie E. Litchfield,
Mary A. Osborne,
Lucy J. Pond,
Esther M. Putnam,
Ann Maria Putnam,
Nancy R. Phillips,
Mary E. Russell,
Fanny Richardson,
Lucy Ann Smith,
Mary E. Smith,
Mary P. Sibley,
Martha M. Sibley,
Charlotte E. Sawyer,
Martha N. Sprague,
Emmy Sawtelle,
Ruth Q. Trask,
Mary Timon,
Abbie Tolman,
Helen E. Tolman,
Lucy Ann Wood,
Kate Wallace,
Helen Works,
Randella Wright,
Florence A. Younglove,
Ellen A. Younglove,
Abbie R. Younglove.

Mr. Hubbard was succeeded by Hanson L. Read, who had previously been a teacher at Williston seminary and at Leicester academy. J. F. D. Garfield was a pupil of

his at Leicester. Mr. Read was a man of dignified bearing, and with his previous experience as a teacher was well qualified for the duties assigned him. His methods and course of instruction were in the same line as those of his immediate predecessor.

During the year 1860 the High School was transferred from the old Academy to the new building, now used for the High street grammar school. Among other uses to which the Academy building was afterwards subjected was the cutting and folding of paper patterns. Eben Butterick first started in this building a business which has grown to immense proportions, and Butterick's patterns are known the world over.

It was during Mr. Read's term of service that the great struggle for national existence commenced. Such a time was unfavorable for study and mere book learning. The public mind, from the youngest scholar to the oldest citizen, was absorbed in the conflict. The music of the fife and drum in our streets was of almost daily occurrence. The formation of a great army brought forth recruits from all classes. Young men fresh from the High School furnished their full quota. College students of high rank risked their lives to save the nation. The map of Virginia and the rest of the southern states was studied more closely than algebra, geometry or rhetoric. Hardee's tactics were, for the time being, of more interest to the rising generation than Cæsar's commentaries or Cicero's orations. Graduates from West Point ruled higher in public estimation than graduates from high schools and colleges. The fires of patriotism were lighted by flashes from every battle field. Every new phase in the conflict was an object lesson in history.

Some of Mr. Read's earlier pupils were A. S. Belding, Milton M. Cushing, Edgar J. Doe, John H. Daniels, Edward P. Farwell, John M. Graham, Ira B. Goodrich, Albert B.

Haskell, Alvin G. Lamb, William M. Newton, Henry P. Potter, Charles F. Putnam, Henry O. Putnam, Salmon W. Putnam, Jr., George N. Proctor, Daniel Simonds, George T. and William P. Tilden, Jr., Frederick F. Woodward, Frederick L. Works, Kate B. Adams, Mary L. Adams, Lucy E. Brown, Emma H. Derby, Ann Eliza Farwell, Jennie T. Farwell, Lottie E. Freeland, Ellen C. Hawkins, Lizzie H. Haskell, Cynthia M. Page, Lizzie F. Stone, Hattie A. Taylor, Celia A. Vose and Mary A. Wright. Woodward, Goodrich, Farwell, Lamb and Works enlisted in the army. The three last mentioned lost their lives in the service. Doe, Newton and Proctor went to college. Graham became a banker, while Daniels and the Putnams have since served the city in different departments.

During the early years of the war the attendance, though large, was somewhat irregular, for no apparent reason except the unsettled condition of affairs in general. The administration of the school and the course of instruction under Mr. Read was satisfactory to the committee and, as a rule, acceptable to the scholars and parents. Mr. Read was very patriotic, and took a deep interest in the welfare of the soldiers. While here he was one of the executive committee of the soldiers' relief. On one occasion, in consideration of the times, he generously remitted to the town one hundred dollars of his salary. He remained in charge of the school till the close of the summer of 1862. Although not considered a strict disciplinarian, yet his uniform courtesy, gentlemanly bearing and scholarly attainments, had won the confidence of his pupils to a marked degree. Mr. Read went from here to the Grafton high school; was principal there for five or six years, and afterward superintendent of schools at Amherst. In December, 1873, he met with a severe affliction from which he never fully recovered. His two sons, one ten and the other twenty-one years of age, broke through

the ice and were drowned. Mr. Read died March 13, 1887, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

In the spring of 1862, which was near the close of Mr. Read's administration, there were fifty-one new pupils admitted to the High School, among them Eben Bailey, to whom we are indebted for a record of their names:

Eben Bailey,
Charles H. Brown,
Waldo J. Burgess,
Albert B. Caswell,
Henry M. Clifford,
Edwin J. Davis,
G. Fred P. Day,
Frank G. Fessenden,
William M. Ingersoll,
Herbert F. Litch,
Stephen C. Lowe,
Thomas Lennon,
William McIntire,
Charles W. Putnam,
H. Frank Rockwell,
William B. Rockwell,
Charles H. Shepley,
Frederic C. Tolman,
Frederic A. Wilder,
Isaac D. Walton,
Hattie P. Adams,
Anna S. Belding,
Emma C. Barrett,
Louisa A. Burgess,
Anna S. Dickinson,
Frances M. Daniels,
Lelia M. Davis,
Laura B. Damon,
Bella T. Fritz,
Maria Farnsworth,
Juliette Goodrich,
Julia F. Hitchcock,
Abbie F. Lane,
Edna M. Lowe,
Mary E. Lane,
Ellen M. Lowe,
Ardelia A. Lamb,
Helen R. Lamb,
Sophronia M. Lawrence,
Nettie Leland,
Sarah J. Marshall,
Hattie E. Putnam,
L. Joa Pratt,
Ella A. Smith,
Hattie E. Smith,
Nancy L. Smith,
Sarah E. Taylor,
Lizzie M. Wilson,
Martha E. Wheeler,
Eliza V. Stone,
Lizzie D. Tileston.

On the resignation of Mr. Read the committee tried the dangerous experiment of filling the vacancy with one who had formerly been a pupil of this same school. The candidate was an accomplished scholar who seemed to have rare qualifications for the work, but was without previous experience as a teacher. Frank H. Snow, who

succeeded Mr. Read, was born in Fitchburg in 1840. He was a son of Benjamin Snow, Jr., and grandson of Benjamin Snow, Sr., who was first president of the High School Association, and of the Philosophical Society, in 1830. He fitted for college at Fitchburg High School and graduated at Williams in 1862.

In their report for 1863 the school committee were much more severe in their criticism of the pupils than of the principal. They claimed the instruction given was the best in every department; that accurate habits of scholarship were encouraged and that many of the scholars accomplished more in the acquisition of valuable learning than ever before, notwithstanding the evident lack of discipline. His pupils will doubtless remember, as long as they live, the unwearying fidelity, sound learning and wonderful self-control of this teacher. Mr. Snow afterwards graduated at Andover Theological seminary and became professor of mathematics and natural science in Kansas State university, and is now chancellor of that institution. At this time the members of the school were arranged in divisions according to their advancement in study. The names of those who ranked highest in their respective divisions were as follows:

First division: Charles A. Cram, Charles W. Smiley, Clara A. Farwell, Fannie I. Tolman.

Second division: George Burford, Jr., Walter A. Davis, Fannie L. Downe, Nellie M. Arms, Georgia B. Damon, Mary F. Hosmer.

Third division: Henry F. Rockwell, G. F. P. Day, Frank G. Fessenden, Mary L. Fisher, Lelia M. Davis and Abbie F. Lane.

In the winter of 1863, by the liberality of some of the citizens, a new piano was placed in the school room, also a copy of the American Cyclopædia, both valuable acquisitions.

After Mr. Snow's departure, Edward D. Pritchard of Newburyport was secured as principal. His term of service, as well as that of his successor, Walter W. Hammond of Cambridge, was of short duration. Mr. Pritchard graduated at Harvard college in 1862, and Mr. Hammond in 1863. It appears that neither of these gentlemen followed the occupation of teaching after their experience in Fitchburg. Mr. Pritchard went into business, and Mr. Hammond, after graduating at the Newton Theological school, entered the ministry. During Mr. Hammond's stay the teachers and scholars had a social gathering and supper at the Fitchburg Hotel. Mr. Hammond read a poem in which he introduced the names of many of his scholars. L. B. Caswell of Athol, then a pupil at the High School in Fitchburg, has preserved a copy of the poem, which is of itself a literary curiosity as well as a valuable memento of the school.

It is unnecessary to say that such frequent changes of inexperienced teachers were detrimental to the school, and that its discipline had become to some extent impaired. The high rank attained under Mr. Hubbard and Mr. Read could hardly be expected under such limitations. The foundation was as strong, the material just as good, but the construction needed more experienced supervision. As a result of the frequent changes from 1862 to 1866 our genial city clerk, Walter A. Davis, during his high school course of four years, was under the instruction of five different principals, commencing with Mr. Read and ending with Mr. Clark. Mr. Davis entered Williams college in 1865.

Other college students who went to the High School, whose names do not appear in the list of graduates, were Charles A. Cram, Brown university; F. A. Holden, Amherst; Thomas W. Davis, Williams, '66; Edward Malley, Williams, '68; Harrison Bailey, Amherst, '72; Joseph

W. Palmer and J. F. Richardson, Harvard, '72. Some of our well-known citizens of to-day, who finished their high school course about this time or previous to 1866, were Eben Bailey, G. Fred P. Day, Charles C. Harris and Henry F. Rockwell.

On the retirement of Mr. Hammond the committee were determined to secure a teacher of experience and ability. The town had made a larger appropriation than heretofore, which gave them much additional encouragement. They were fortunate in securing the services of R. B. Clark, for several years previous principal of the high school at Milford. Mr. Clark graduated at Amherst in 1856, and had been eight or nine years a teacher when he was placed in charge of the High School. He entered upon his duties with a high reputation as an exact and accomplished scholar and a good disciplinarian. The administration of Mr. Clark was a success from the start. In the school report of 1867 the committee asserted that the High School was never in a more flourishing condition. The discipline was excellent, the proficiency of the pupils in the various branches highly gratifying, and the classes so arranged that students could acquire a thorough English education or be prepared to enter with credit any of our colleges. A school of this kind, they claimed, was what was contemplated by the statute creating it.

In 1865 a new system had been adopted at the High School in reference to the course of study. Hitherto there had been no prescribed courses or regular graduations. Quite a number of students had previously fitted for college and reached a standard in scholarship which in after years would have secured a diploma. The new course of study was arranged to occupy a period of four years, and every student completing the course honorably would be entitled to a diploma. Three distinct courses of

study were established: One English, one English and classical, and one purely classical, the latter for those preparing for college. The first regular graduate, in 1866, was Franklin Goodrich Fessenden, now one of the judges of the superior court. Since that time a full record of all graduates has been kept, so that, as a matter of history, there is no occasion to repeat their names in this paper. One fact, however, connected with the class of 1868 seems worthy of special mention. The four graduates, Charles F. Baker, Ernest P. Miller, Mary E. Lane and Myra B. Richardson, afterwards became assistant teachers, all at the same time. Later on two of this number—Dr. Miller and Miss Richardson—assumed a much closer relationship.

It was during Mr. Clark's administration that the High School was again transferred to its former locality. What was lately known as the High School building was completed in 1869, at a cost of about $60,000. In their annual report for 1869 the school committee referred to the building as an improvement of which the town might well be proud. Its occupation would afford relief from a pressure that had been severely felt for some time previous. The systematic course of study, previously introduced at the suggestion of Mr. Clark, was also highly commended by the committee. At the close of Mr. Clark's term of service the pupils and assistant teachers, together with many former pupils, joined in presenting him a valuable clock and mantel ornaments, as a testimonial of their appreciation of his services. After leaving Fitchburg, Mr. Clark continued the same occupation at Binghamton, N. Y., and other places, and is now living in Worcester.

The year 1873 opened a new volume in the educational history of Fitchburg. The transition from town to city government brought a change in the formation and duties of the school committee. Under the town govern-

ment the care and guidance of the High School devolved upon the school committee. Under the new city regulations this duty was intrusted, mainly, to a superintendent of schools. The city was fortunate in securing for this important office the services of E. A. Hubbard, formerly principal of the High School. After two years of success under the new order of things, Mr. Hubbard resigned the position. Thereupon Joseph G. Edgerly, whose previous service in Manchester, N. H., had already won for him a high reputation, was elected superintendent, and ever since has been annually re-elected. The limitations of this paper will not allow any detailed account of the work of the school committee or the superintendent of schools. That their duties have been faithfully performed goes without saying.

Mr. Clark was succeeded by Ray Greene Huling of Brown university, class of '69; a master whose qualifications are well known and still fresh in the memory of the present generation. His ten years in the High School, as well as his services in other directions, were highly appreciated by the people generally, as well as by the pupils under his immediate charge. His interests were not wholly confined to educational matters, but were manifest in every progressive enterprise for mental, moral and physical improvement.

From 1865 to 1880 there were in the aggregate, twenty-four assistants or substitute teachers in the High School. Their names, and subsequent history, were all published in Mr. Huling's sketch of teachers and graduates. To the work of some of these teachers reference has already been made. Among those longest in service were Kate F. Haskell, Benjamin F. Brown, Albion N. Marston and E. Adams Hartwell, the latter being still in the field. During the period just mentioned, and in fact to the present time, the High School has had an era of uninterrupted success.

Mr. Clark, Mr. Huling, Mr. Kittredge, and the present incumbent, Mr. Chapin, all ranked high in their chosen profession, and had been carefully trained for the responsible duties assigned them. From 1866 to 1880, there were no less than twenty-five students fitted for college at the High School, all of whom passed a creditable examination, and twelve of this number were included in the four Harvard college classes at one time.

The first five years of Mr. Huling's administration brings us to the date designated at the beginning of this paper. While in 1830, new avenues were opened for mental improvement and higher advancement, we find in 1880 these avenues were much more numerous, much broader and more accessible to the general public.

We have traced the progress of high schools in Fitchburg through the first half century of their existence, from the private enterprises of fitful and irregular attendance, to the higher attainments of free schools with regular classes and prescribed courses. During this period the steady procession coming from these schools has furnished recruits for almost every station in life.

The memories which cluster around the old Academy are as sacred to one generation as the associations formed by later and more favored surroundings are to another.

Within the walls of the magnificent new structure just dedicated to the advancement of learning, with a board of instruction equal to the environment, new experiences will come, and grander opportunities must produce grander results.

As the present is to the past, so may the future be to the present, an era of progress in mental discipline, broad culture, and all that tends to encourage liberal education.

"The riches of our Commonwealth
Are free strong minds, and hearts of health;
And more to her than gold or grain
The cunning hand and cultured brain."

SCHOOL AFFAIRS IN FITCHBURG FIFTY YEARS AGO.

Read at a Meeting of the Society, June 17, 1895.

BY ATHERTON P. MASON, M. D.

The period covering the year 1845 and the early portion of 1846 was a very stirring one in the educational history of Fitchburg. An effort to re-district the township was the cause of the commotion.

Before taking up what little is to be said upon this subject, let us very briefly review the condition of the town in regard to schools and school districts previous to 1845.

September 12, 1764, the town voted to have "two scools," and, in accordance with this vote, the schools were established, one being kept in Samuel Hunt's tavern and the other presumably in a corn barn belonging to William Chadwick, near the present Pearl Hill school house. This state of affairs continued until 1770, when the town was divided into four districts and it was voted to build four school houses, "each quarter of the town to build their own school house at their own expense, free from town tax, only that each quarter have their proportion of the Town's Boards and Nails left after finishing the meeting house."

April 5, 1790, it was voted "to new district the town," and a committee of seven was chosen for the purpose. At a later meeting this committee made a report which was rejected. The matter was brought up at various town meetings during the next eight years, but it

was not until 1798 that a report was accepted. During that year the town was divided into eleven districts. This necessitated the building of several new school houses, and on June 21, 1798, a committee was appointed "to estimate the bigness of the school houses." This committee reported in favor of having houses 24x20 feet, finished with gallery seats; to be lathed and plastered overhead and glassed with six windows, twelve squares of 7x9 glass in each. The report was accepted.

October 8, 1798, a committee appointed to appraise the old school houses reported as follows:

The	school	house	nigh	Mr.	Daniel Wetherbee's,	$92.00
"	"	"	"	"	Simon Farwell's,	93.00
"	"	"	"	"	Amos Lawrence's,	90.00
"	"	"	"	"	Abraham Farwell's,	80.00
"	"	"	"	"	Elijah Carter's,	80.00
"	"	" (frame)	"	"	Daniel Harris's,	6.00

So, in 1798, there were five school houses and the frame of a new one in process of construction.

No material change appears to have been made in the eleven districts formed in 1798 until July, 1811, when District No. 1 was divided and a new district, No. 12, formed, corresponding to that portion of the town later called Old City District. The town voted the sum of $90 towards building a school house for the new district. It was built in 1812 and is still standing, though somewhat changed, near the upper corner of Blossom and Crescent streets.

In 1815 a new school house was built in No. 1—the "yellow school house"—at the junction of Main and Mechanic streets. It was used until 1840, when the scholars were transferred to the brick school house—"the pride of the town"—which, much enlarged and improved, still stands on School street.

The early school committees appear to have been for prudential purposes only; but, in 1826, the general court

passed an act giving school committees substantially the same powers and duties as at present. The first school committee chosen by the town under the new law was in 1827 and consisted of the following: Rev. Calvin Lincoln, Rev. Rufus A. Putnam, Dr. Jonas A. Marshall and Messrs. Ebenezer Torrey, David Brigham, Ivers Jewett and Abel Fox.

The building of the Fitchburg Academy in 1830 gave a lasting impetus to higher education here, and it is gratifying to know that one of our members, Mr. Henry A. Goodrich, is now preparing a paper on the history of the Academy and its successor, the High School, and will deliver it before this society in the near future.

In 1836 a new district was formed—No. 12½—and was called the Half District. It was taken from Nos. 10 and 12. In 1838 District No. 13 was formed out of a portion of No. 6. In 1844 No. 7 was united with No. 8.

This brings us to the beginning of 1845, and a concise statement of the name and date of establishment of each of the districts and also the valuation of school property and number of scholars attending in each district May 1, 1845, is shown in the following table:

DISTRICT.	NAME.	ESTABLISHED.		VALUATION.	NUMBER OF SCHOLARS.
1	Center,	1798	. . . .	$32,470.80	257
2	South Fitchburg,	1798	. . . .	2,919.56	55
3	Whitcomb's,	1798	. . . .	1,996.08	32
4	Turnpike,	1798	. . . .	1,631.70	28
5	Downe's,	1798	. . . .	2,554.52	27
6	Baldwinville,	1798	. . . .	2,510.28	47
7	Williams's,	1798	United with No. 8 in 1844.	———	—
8	Deane's,	1798	. . . .	3,000.52	32
9	Page's,	1798	. . . .	2,401.96	27
10	Phelps's,	1798	. . . .	3,205.08	46
11	Pearl Hill,	1798	. . . .	1,152.48	17
12	Old City,	1811	(Taken from No. 1)	13,778.61	198
12½	Half District,	1836	Taken from Nos. 10 and 12	719.51	15
13	Crockerville,	1838	(Taken from No. 6)	3,078.34	49
	Totals,	. . . . .		$71,419.44	830

During the decade from 1830 to 1840, Fitchburg made a moderate advance in population and wealth, the former increasing from 2179 to 2570, and the latter from $540,000 to $935,000; but in the succeeding ten years there was a marked increase, the population in 1850 being 5120, and the valuation $1,995,749. The opening of the Fitchburg railroad in March, 1845, gave a great impetus to the growth of the town and also had a tendency to concentrate the population in the village where manufacturing and business were beginning to be developed.

In view of these changes in population it was deemed advisable to re-district the township, and, at the annual town meeting, March 3, 1845, sundry articles in the warrant relating to this matter were referred to a committee of one from each district (except the Half District). The committee was as follows: No. 1, Charles Mason; No. 2, Robert L. Friar; No. 3, John Whitcomb; No. 4, Abram Osborn; No. 5, Levi Downe; No. 6, Ivers Phillips; No. 8, David D. McIntire; No. 9, Asa Raymond; No. 10, David Lowe; No. 11, John Andrews; No. 12, David Boutelle; No. 13, Isaac B. Woodward. This committee made a very thorough investigation of the matter during the next few weeks, and at a town meeting held April 7, 1845, a report, prepared by Mr. Mason, chairman of the committee, was presented. It showed very fully various good reasons for diminishing the number of school districts on account of both convenience and economy, and further recommended, among other things, "That the present division of the town into school districts be discontinued, such discontinuance to take effect on the 15th day of May next; . . . . . that the town purchase of the several districts, at a fair and just appraisal, their respective school houses and their right and interest in the land on which they stand respectively; . . . . .

that henceforth the town provide, at the common expense of the town, school houses for the several districts that shall be formed within its limits." It also recommended that a committee of three be chosen to appraise the school houses, and another committee of three to survey the township and divide it into school districts. The report was accepted and the two committees chosen. Within a short time the first committee made their report to the assessors and the transfer of the school property to the town was duly made.

The second committee read their report at a town meeting May 5, 1845, and the report and whole subject matter were referred to a committee of five for consideration and revision, with the request that a report be ready on the eleventh of August. The committee (consisting of Nathaniel Wood, Levi Downe, Ivers Phillips, Abel F. Adams and Levi Kendall) had no report to present at the adjourned town meeting held on the date assigned, and the first four named gentlemen sent in their resignations; whereupon Charles Mason, John Whitcomb, Dr. Thomas R. Boutelle and William Woodbury were chosen to fill the vacancies. The committee, as thus constituted, were authorized to have their report or reports printed for distribution among the inhabitants of the town prior to the next March meeting.

This committee evidently went into the matter very deeply and failed to agree; so there were two reports to be printed—a majority report signed by Messrs. Mason and Whitcomb and Dr. Boutelle, dated January 22, 1846, and a minority report signed by Messrs. Woodbury and Kendall, dated January 25, 1846.

The majority report was quite lengthy and recommended the division of the township into eight districts, each district to be wholly under the supervision and control of the school committee.

In this report is the following table, showing the number of persons of school age (four to sixteen years) in each of the proposed eight districts May 1, 1845, the area of each district in square miles and fractions thereof, and lastly the area of the inhabited part of each district:

DISTRICT.	SCHOLARS.	WHOLE AREA.	INHABITED PART.
1	465	3.20	2.92
2	55	2.41	1.40
3	43	2.63	1.23
4	36	3.29	1.13
5	98	3.81	1.85
6	45	5.24	2.80
7	46	4.22	2.82
8	42	3.13	2.05
Totals, 8	830	27.93	16.20

The outlines of the districts and of the inhabited area of each were drawn on a copy of Levi Downe's 1830 map of Fitchburg, and a foot note in the report states that "A Map of the Town, exhibiting the proposed division, may be seen at the Post Office." This map has been preserved and I have brought it here for your inspection this evening.

It will be seen from this map that District No. 1 included the whole of the former districts Nos. 1 and 12 and a small part of No. 12½; No. 2 remained unchanged; Nos. 3 and 4 included all of former districts Nos. 3, 4 and 5; No. 5 included Nos. 6 and 13; No. 6 included No. 8 and the west part of No. 9; No. 7, the east part of No. 9 and the portions of Nos. 10 and 11 west of Pearl Hill; and No. 8, the rest of Nos. 10 and 11 and the principal part of No. 12½.

District No. 1 comprised the whole "middle of the town," and it was proposed to have three, or if necessary four, school houses, located in different parts of the district to accommodate the large number of pupils.

With the exception of No. 5, all the other districts had from forty to fifty scholars each, which appeared to be considered by the committee about the proper number for outlying districts.

The minority report, which was quite brief, recommended the division of the township into ten districts, each district to have control of its school, and the school committee to serve only for the purpose of examining teachers and occasionally visiting the schools.

Very slight changes in the former school districts were proposed in this report. It was recommended that Districts Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 remain unchanged; that District 6 include Nos. 6 and 13; that the former Districts Nos. 8 and 9 remain unchanged and be called Nos. 7 and and 8 respectively; that District 9 include Nos. 10 and 11 and Mr. Abel Marshall in No. 12½; and District 10 include No. 12 and No. 12½, with the exception of Mr. Marshall.

These two printed reports were distributed among the inhabitants and doubtless were the cause of many a heated fireside discussion during the few weeks preceding the annual town meeting in 1846. Opinion was pretty evenly divided and both plans of division had strong supporters; but the upshot of the matter was that at the annual town meeting, March 2, 1846, both reports were accepted and then a motion to lay them on the table was carried. They were never resurrected, so that all the time, thought and printer's ink expended on them went for naught.

It was voted at this meeting "to adopt the territorial limits for school districts as they existed in 1844, except the half-district," and Levi Downe, Abel Marshall and William Carleton were chosen a committee "to assign the territory that was formerly the half-district and fix the limits of the old districts." This committee

reported April 6, 1846, and their report was accepted and the twelve school districts established in accordance with their recommendations.

At the end of the record of this interesting controversy the town clerk added the following comment of his own: "So ended our great effort to new district the town."

It may be of interest to mention one rather amusing and slightly spiteful result of this school district controversy—the refusal of the town to print the report of the school committee for the year ending March, 1846.

The school committee for that year consisted of Charles Mason, Dr. Thomas R. Boutelle, Asa Farwell, Stephen Shepley, Dr. O. L. Huntley, J. M. Harris and W. G. Wyman. The report was a vindication of the committee's course in the management of the schools.

The districts having been abolished May 15, 1845, the "Prudential Committees," so called, of the several districts were of course also abolished at the same time, and hence the schools became *town* schools and, as such, were by law subject to the direct control of the school committee of the town, in every respect, until such time as new districts should be formed. The effort to establish the new districts during the summer of 1845 having failed, the committee took entire charge of providing teachers and looking out for the welfare of the schools in town during the winter of 1845-46; and this course of procedure was sanctioned by the town at the meeting of August 11, 1845.

The people, already stirred up by the controversy, were not slow to find fault and quickly took exception to what they appeared to consider an unwarrantable assumption of power on the part of the committee. In several instances parents kept their children out of school that winter, and in various other ways made things

uncomfortable. All these matters were handled without gloves in the report, which is really quite spicy reading. Doubtless many of the voters were hard hit, and it is not strange that, when the report was read in town meeting April 6, 1846, they voted not to have it printed.

The school committee, however, were bound not to have the report smothered in that way, and, by the circulation of a subscription paper, money to the amount of $23.16 was raised, for which sum the report was printed by William J. Merriam and bound in paper by E. Foster Bailey during the following May.

A DAME SCHOOL IN FITCHBURG SIXTY YEARS AGO.

Read at a Meeting of the Society November 19, 1895.

BY MRS. LOUISE H. WELLMAN.

With the exception of a few pages, I wrote this sketch about a dozen years ago, and it seems to me too slight in its nature to be brought before you, being composed of childish recollections, with no attempt at theorizing, or turning them into history. But I suppose I have been asked to read it that you may realize anew the difference between the kindergarten schools young children can now attend and the "Dame School" of fifty years since, which could be my only educator, unless I went to the "town school," and that was a rough place for little ones, especially during the winter terms.

First, I must describe the building,—formerly a harness-shop, wooden, and merely whitewashed, which stood in the back part of Mr. Asher Green's premises, and adjoined his barn. Mr. Green owned and lived in one side of a double house situated between this city hall and the residence of the late Hon. Alvah Crocker. This tiny school house consisted of one low-studded room, perhaps fourteen feet by eighteen in length, with an entry at one end, used as a cloak room. It served also for a place of execution, so to speak, since, whenever a spanking was deemed necessary, the victim was solemnly led out there to receive it; and well do I remember the dreadful suspense and terror of that slow march. The room had a window on each of its three sides, but the one in front

was put in horizontally, and high up, and being curtained in summer by morning-glories and the like, did us little good, we thought.

On one side were low seats for the younger scholars, and my recollection of these is confined chiefly to my sufferings from a hateful boy, who would lie down on his back, roll his eyes up and over at me, and make faces, which always frightened me into wanting to scream. On the opposite side was a high desk, behind which sat the older children. As this was just as long as the room, it followed that, to get into our seats, we had to dive under, come up breathless, and turn round. When old enough I would sometimes dare to leave my seat by springing on the desk and jumping down on the other side; but the wood was as slippery as glass, from the long rubbing of restless arms, and I was apt to come to grief.

In the center of the floor stood the tiniest of box-stoves, fed with bits of bark, which came in "four-foot" lengths, and was broken up by the older boys with a wooden mallet. It had a very long funnel, and on a conspicuous part of this was written in large, chalk, print-hand, "Thou, God, Seest Me." I wonder if he is living still who was obliged once, for a punishment, to walk round and round the stove, and each time he came under this sentence to repeat it, which he did in tones more and more mournful, until the whole school was laughing at him.

Over the low ceiling was the smallest of spaces, not worthy to be called a garret, and when the room was unbearably hot a trap-door was opened into it, but I doubt if any cool or fresh air descended.

How shall I describe our teacher, Miss Eunice Elizabeth Tainter? For those who remember her, words cannot do it, while to others no phrases can convey the

impression she made upon our youthful minds. She was tall and large, even portly, with black, keen eyes, and a voice of metallic sharpness, intensified by a slow and measured speech. She walked in a wonderful way, using each hip in turn as a pivot upon which to swing round in a half-circle with every step. I don't see how she ever moved amongst us, the room was so crowded with its twenty children; but she must have been able to look behind, as well as before, at every stage of her stately progress back and forth. She wore a full wig, curiously braided round her ears, and about this the story of a daring prank was handed down. Those were the days of quill pens and setting copies. When Miss Tainter was bending over the desk engaged in this duty a girl could pull a hair from her wig without her feeling it. But, one unlucky day, Abby twitched a hair which grew on her head! I was never told the result, and often wondered what it could have been.

On looking back, it seems to me that Miss Tainter busied herself with our morals more than with our studies. Above all things she was a disciplinarian, and her especial horror was "a bad word." She used to take ashes out of the stove, mix them with water, and then, calling up the culprit, would bid him hold open his mouth while she scoured "the naughtiness" off his tongue. For impertinence she had a remedy equally effectual; the offender was obliged to chew southernwood, or wormwood, from bushes purposely kept growing near the door. One boy, much franker of speech than the rest of us dared to be, had to eat these herbs so often he became fond of them, and his sins had to be met with a different punishment. He told Miss Tainter once that he wished she were dead; and never shall I forget my surprise at happening to hear her laugh over it to my parents, for it was the first thing which helped me

slowly to realize that, out of school, she could be like other people. She carried so far her dislike of "bad words" that she never allowed herself to speak of darning stockings, but always "durned" them. F. and H., two of the scholars, being angry with one another once, F. called H. "a darned fool," of which H. complained to Miss Tainter. So, when school opened again, Miss Tainter bent her sternest look upon F. and inquired, with a sonorous roll of each syllable, "Fr-rances, did you call Hannah a durned fool?" "No, ma'am, I didn't," was the prompt denial. H.'s short-lived anger did not move her "to rise and explain," and the storm blew over. This illustrates one of Miss Tainter's grave mistakes. She liked to govern us out of school as well as in, but could not, of course, except by our keeping her informed of each other's actions at all hours, which directly encouraged a habit of "telling tales," and must often have caused quarrels among us.

In Miss Tainter's perhaps praiseworthy anxiety to avoid corporal chastisement, she invented such penalties as cut our sensibilities to the quick, and, after frequent wounds of this nature, I grew to hate her with all the force of which I was capable. To justify myself, I will mention one punishment I received which I am sure you will think too cruel for sensitive children to endure. The William Hartwell whom you remember so well was quiet and shy, and I was always timid with boys. But one day Miss Tainter saw us whispering a word or two, and instead of gently reproving us for what must have been an infrequent offence, she called us into the middle of the room and made us stand side by side, with his left hand and my right hand held up high, and tied together. We both felt so completely disgraced that, to the best of my remembrance, we never, at any time, spoke to one another again.

I still recall, with indignation, one of the many mortifications she used to inflict upon poor J. He had to go through a part of Main street to reach his home, and she would send him with his hands tied behind his back, thus advertising him to every one he might meet as a wrong-doer. No more unkind thing could have been done to a proud heart, and it was a part of his hard fate that his early school days were spent under such a teacher. Of course, she had lighter penalties for small sins. Once, when whispering to my neighbor, a large towel was thrown suddenly over our heads, reducing us to darkness and supposed penitence. At first I was filled with dismay, but when, presently, M. began to shake her shoulders and laugh, I did the same; and the towel was removed, having failed in its purpose. Our "dunce cap" was like others of the period, I presume, and plenty of us wore it.

I have been reminded lately that, in one corner of the room, a small space on the floor was called "The Sloven's Corner." If, when going home, our books were left in a disorderly pile, Miss Tainter would write on one or more, "Sloven's Corner," and put them in there, whence we had to pick them out, in much confusion of spirit, on our return. In one corner, perhaps the same, was set a small, square table, with a stool on its top. Here offenders were made to sit, with a curtain drawn in front of them. As this was of thin material and could be looked through, a boy who often sat there used to amuse himself, and us likewise—after finding when Miss Tainter's back was turned to him—by rising up, looking over, and making faces at us. I am tempted to give one more instance of her ingenuity in devising punishments, to help in completing my picture of those early days. It occurred in Leominster, where she taught before coming to Fitchburg. She discovered, one day, that a boy had brought

a frog into the school room. Calling him to her, she made him tie a string to one of the frog's hind legs. Bidding him open his jacket collar, she held the string and dropped the poor frog down his back, next to the skin, drawing the creature up and letting him down several times, till she judged the boy was sufficiently punished. Being asked after school by the other boys what the experience was like, he said "the frog felt cold and scratched his back."

I do not remember as well as I ought about our books, or Miss Tainter's methods of teaching. We learned the alphabet from a large square of brown pasteboard, held in her lap, on which the letters were printed in various sizes and styles. A whalebone, pointed at one end, served to guide our eyes, as we stood by her side, as well as to tingle our fingers when our attention wandered. I became fond of spelling, shouting out all the letters of the word in one breath, without dividing it into syllables. Definitions and simple arithmetic were taught faithfully. I think the arithmetic book was Emerson's, and its queer illustrations were really helpful. For instance, when the scholar was studying the question, "If nine apple trees are standing in a row, and three fall down, how many are left upright?" he had before his eyes the three prostrate and the six standing up, all represented with plenty of tiny, round fruit, and very few leaves.

I doubt if she could have been clear in her explanations of grammar, for she never drew me out of my despair over pronouns. Parley's geography and history made pleasant studies, with their quaint pictures.

The hours of attendance were the same as in the town schools, from 9 A. M. to 12 o'clock, always; and from 1.30 to 4.30 in summer, and from 1 to 4 o'clock in winter. One recess in each session, and the boys and girls were sent out together.

I have not seen any one who can remember clearly what, if any, were the opening exercises of the school, and I fancy they may have varied just often enough to fail to impress our memories. William Hartwell's sister, Miss Mary, informs me that once, when the scholars were told to learn at home a verse from the Bible to repeat at school, her brother committed to memory the text, "Blessed are the peacemakers," etc. He said it over rightly to her as he led her to school the next day; but when his turn came to speak he was so frightened that he said, "Blessed are the *shoe*makers," etc.

Frequently, shortly before school closed at noon, we sang the alphabet in chorus, and the abbreviations, and the Roman numerals, ending always with "Lord, dismiss us;" or, sometimes, we roared cheerily through the multiplication table. Apropos of this, I recall what James Green once said. I had been fidgetting in my seat, till Miss Tainter inquired if I had nothing to do. I replied, "No, for I have learned all my lessons." Whereupon, James called out loudly, "Louisa Wood doesn't know the multiplication table." I suppose he had noticed that I lagged behind the others when we were shouting forth some parts of it. You can imagine my mortification, and how hard I studied privately until I felt sure of myself. Then came a day when I was purposely restless, till Miss Tainter asked me the same question; and, getting the same answer, again suggested that I should learn the multiplication table. How triumphantly I replied that I knew it, as she presently found by examining me. So James was my benefactor, after all!

While nothing would have made me believe it then, I think now that Miss Tainter meant to render our hours in school as pleasant as she felt our wilfulness would permit. During one vacation she pasted a row of little pictures of animals on the walls of three sides, brightening

the room a great deal. I recall a camel and a zebra which particularly interested me.

When we had been unusually good she would give us the alphabet pasteboard to amuse ourselves over; or, better still, something I wish I could see again. It was a small, square frame, in which wires were inserted; and on these, large blue glass and white glass beads were strung, for us to learn to count by. If I would be careful not to make a noise I might play with this sometimes, to my great delight.

But the crowning joy of all was whenever one of us had a birthday. For then the lucky child was fitted out at home with a long basket, in which were placed as many slices of cake, or, much more often, little round, frosted cakes, as there were children; sometimes oranges were added. Of course, the contents were covered nicely with a white towel, and I think it was not until just as school was to close that the feast-giver was allowed to distribute it by taking the basket and going round the room, the bright face beaming with pride and pleasure as each little friend drew out his or her share.

My recollections must stop here; but I add for those who are interested in dates that I believe Miss Tainter gave up her school in 1851, owing to a severe illness. I do not know just when she began teaching in Fitchburg, but it may have been in 1832.

AN INTERLUDE OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE IN FITCHBURG.

Read at a Meeting of the Society, March 16, 1895.

BY REV. WALTER F. GREENMAN.

It is the purpose of this paper to gather the facts pertaining to a period in the history of the town when, immediately after the settlement of the Rev. Titus T. Barton, that part of the church over which he was settled indulged in a spirited inquisition into the moral and spiritual welfare not only of the church members, but of those whom the church had some reason to think ought to be members. It is a pertinent and significant commentary upon the practice that it led directly to two things. First, the removal of the very minister who had introduced it with such great strenuousness, and secondly, to the closing of the church which had valiantly adhered to the practice for about eight years. The practice was not wholly new to Fitchburg with the advent of Mr. Barton, because isolated cases occurred during the pastorate of Mr. Worcester; but it was during Mr. Barton's pastorate that a definite mode of procedure was established, and a searching examination of the church lists was made in the interest of bringing all delinquents to a sense of their grievous sinfulness.

Least of all was the practice new to Massachusetts. It seems to have been a condition through which nearly all of the parishes passed, some in early, some in later stages of development. In old settlements like those of Quincy, most admirably described by Charles Francis Adams in his "Three Episodes of Massachusetts His-

tory," the fever for ecclesiastical inquisition came on and burned itself entirely out thirty years before Fitchburg was settled, and seventy years before that fever for inquisition disappeared from the church in Fitchburg.

A brief survey of the church history of Fitchburg prior to 1804 will be of service in introducing us to the period of nine years to which we are to devote ourselves in particular. In this resumé of church history I am wholly indebted to Torrey's book; whereas the evidences for the period 1804–1813 are drawn wholly from the church records surrendered to the First Parish when Mr. Barton's church finally decided to unite with the church then under the care of Rev. William Bascom. In many instances the original documents and correspondence have been at hand with which to verify the accuracy of the clerk of the church in his report. Joseph Simonds is worthy of our respect and gratitude for the great dignity, tact, and above all the faithfulness, with which he discharged his office of clerk of the Church of Christ in Fitchburg.

Now for the early history: From 1724, when the settlers began to locate upon Turkey Hills, until the first town meeting in Fitchburg in 1764, the history of Lunenburg and that of Fitchburg are identical. Few incidents occurred to give character to the period. Three pastors were ordained in that time, and a fourth, Rev. Josiah Bridge (H. U. 1758), supplied the pulpit for a part of a year. Only two kinds of incident are worth recording here, the building of the meeting-house and the death of the ministers. The first death was that of Rev. David Stearns in 1761. He had served the society since 1733. The town voted to pay for weeds and gloves for his brothers, veils, handkerchiefs, fans and gloves for his sisters, for his sons-in-law weeds and gloves, and nine months' salary for the widow.

This fact speaks eloquently of the respect the people had for their minister, and of the dignity and reality with which he had invested the office of pastor. A little more than two years later, in 1763, with the tradition of Mr. Stearns's day still fresh in mind, the parish rallied to observe fittingly the death of its new young minister, the Rev. Samuel Payson. On this occasion the town voted to Miss Elizabeth Stearns, to whom Mr. Payson had already become engaged, "a neat, handsome suit of mourning," and to the rest of the family, weeds, gloves, handkerchiefs, and so on, as usual.

There were, as has been hinted, several incidents of interest relative to the building of the Lunenburg meeting-house. Three years after the first settlement on Turkey Hills the settlers were instructed, by order of the general court, to erect a meeting-house. Two years elapsed before the building, 45x35 feet, was built; in the interim services were held in private houses. One fact should be noted in this connection, namely, that in this vicinity the church history opened with pews already a settled institution, because one of the terms of dismissal insisted upon by the retiring minister, Rev. Andrew Gardner, who became a teacher in the town, was "that he should be allowed the privilege of putting a pew at the entering in of the right side of the new meeting-house." This dismissal, by the way, is thought to have been brought about because of Mr. Gardner's lax observance of the Sabbath. To have been seen with a gun on Turkey Hills was, with most of the settlers, *prima facie* evidence that the parson had been out gunning on Sunday afternoon. It is worth while to note that the Lunenburg church had pews from the first, because that was not the case in some places. In Braintree, for instance, there were benches on one side for the men and on the other for the women; the elders sat in front. When the first distinction was

made, the seat nearest the pulpit was assigned to the person in the town of highest rank or distinction—then began the purchase of pews or rather of space in which the pews were erected. For that space of floor or, before the floor was put down, for that space of ground, a deed was given as for any other bit of real estate. Pew space was bought first next the wall on the floor under the galleries. As more and more families wanted pews the men's and women's seats in the center were encroached upon, until the entire floor was taken. Finally the space in the galleries was sold; the galleries had previously been the resort of all the boys for whom there had not been room in the family pew. The boys had to be kept in order by a tithing man or clerk. The deacons commonly sat in front, under the left gallery.

In Lunenburg, the first year after the meeting-house was finished, in 1731, we find that a "pulpit and a body of seets" were built. Persons who were "preferred" to have pews had to build them at their own cost. A committee was chosen to state places for building the pews, and "to order who shall have them": location to be determined according to the inhabitants' "improvements and stations, and having some regard to pay." In April, 1733, it was "voted to build galleries and stears up to them." In 1749, in need of more room, it was voted to build a new house. The committee was ordered "to let the contract to the man who would do it cheapest and best."

This was the sum and substance of the early Fitchburgers' scanty experience in church life before they had a town of their own. Eight months after the first town meeting in Fitchburg, held March 5, 1764, the inhabitants took very vigorous measures to make up for lost time. In November it was voted to have six weeks preaching in Thomas Cowdin's tavern; also to have a meeting-house for which the town should provide the "stuff," and "em-

ploy people to finish a part at a time:" and then eight stages of construction are indicated by the parts as they were added. They raised the frame and shut it in with rough boards; the lower floor was laid; then the outside was "finished;" a place was made "for the minister to preach in;" the pew ground was "dignified," and the house was "seated." Then galleries and stairs leading to the same were to be made; the house was "glassed," and finally "coloured."

In a very short time Rev. John Payson was settled over the society and almost immediately a committee was chosen "to see that *all* the inhabitants duly and constantly attended meeting on the Sabbath, and to report the names of delinquents;" the latter were inevitably fined. The first case was that of Abel Baldwin, who lived on the Moses Hale farm; he had absented himself because as a Baptist he did not feel interested in the meeting. He was fined in spite of his protests and imprecations.*

One circumstance relative to the singing in the meeting-house at this period is deserving of notice, inasmuch as it shows the carefulness of our fathers in guarding against innovations in all things pertaining to religious worship. It was the practice, previous to this time, in our churches, to have the minister select and read the psalm or hymn, as now, then the oldest deacon would read one line, which was sung by all who could sing, sitting promiscuously in every part of the meeting-house. Then another line was read and sung in the same manner, and so on through the psalm, or hymn. It appears that in 1787, some bold innovators in psalmody undertook to introduce something similar to our present mode of singing, together with some new tunes. These latter were quite incomprehensible to some veterans, whose sweet voices of fifty years' standing were hushed in consequence. They of course exclaimed against the innovation; others objected to it as irreligious and unscriptural. The point was argued with so much warmth on both sides that it attracted the attention of the whole town. Accordingly, an article was inserted in a warrant for a town meeting, reading thus: "To see if the town will vote to come into any general rule in

*Torrey, p. 67.

regard to carrying on the singing part of the public worship of God; and whether the singers shall sing a part of the time without reading, and how the psalm shall be read, whether by line or verse, or act anything thereon." A committee was chosen to take the thing into serious consideration, and to report at the next meeting.

The committee made the following report, which was accepted. "There shall be singing five times in the worshiping on the Lord's day, in the following manner: The first singing in the morning before prayers shall be without reading and singing line by line. After prayers, in the singing, each line shall be read and sung separately, and such tunes shall be set as the congregation can, in general, sing. The first singing in the afternoon and before prayers shall be without reading and singing line by line. After prayers each line shall be read and sung separately, and after sermon the singing shall be without reading and singing line by line." Thus happily was this difficult matter compromised. Enough of the old fashion was retained to satisfy the aged people, whose prejudices in this matter were probably imbedded in their very existence, while the taste of those who were pleased with the change was gratified by carrying three-fifths of their point.

—[*Torrey, pp. 104, 105.*

The parish was organized in 1768; its first meeting-house was on the shoulder of Crescent street as it passes over Mt. Vernon hill. In 1786 it was voted "to build a new meeting-house in the nearest convenientest place to the center." Then ensued a ten-year discussion in order to determine that nearest convenientest spot. Finally, on January 26, 1796, it was voted to build the meeting-house on land purchased of Thomas Boynton, and to model it after the one in Leominster, and to finish it by December 31, 1796. Later, however, it was voted to model it after one in Ashburnham. Up to October not a stroke of work had been done; then it was voted to put it "at the crotch of roads," near where it now stands. During the ten years of controversy, of compromise and counter compromise, ninety-nine meetings were held. These Fitchburg town meetings for determining the location of the church became so famous that the inhabitants from the neighbor-

ing towns crowded in as if to a county fair in order to enjoy the Yankee dialectic.

The meeting-house, on its present location, was built during the summer of 1796. At the "raising" the inhabitants concluded not to bury their griefs beneath the altar, but to drown them in deep potations of West India rum. For, on this occasion the town voted, and it appears to have been the only vote on this subject which did not give rise to bitter contention, to purchase a barrel of West India rum, with a sufficient quantity of loaf sugar wherewith to regale and refresh all those who might be present. So gravely and systematically did they conduct this part of the ceremonies, that they chose a committtee, consisting of *Deacon* Daniel Putnam, *Deacon* Kendall Boutelle, *Deacon* Ephraim Kimball, Reuben Smith, Joseph Polley, Dr. Jonas Marshall and Asa Perry, to deal out the "*grog*," with instructions if that barrel was not sufficient, to procure more at the town's expense.

—[*Torrey, p. 118.*

In May, 1767, the town appointed "a day of fasting and prayer in order to ask Divine assistance in giving some gentleman a call to settle in the gospel ministry in this town."

Rev. John Payson was preaching during the summer of this year, and in November he consented to become the settled minister of the place. His ordination took place January 27, 1768. The church was embodied on the 7th of the same month. Mr. Payson was a son [brother] of Rev. Phillips Payson of Chelsea, and was graduated at Harvard university in 1764. He was a brother of Rev. Samuel Payson, the young and much lamented minister of Lunenburg, who died in 1763. Rev. Dr. Seth Payson of Rindge, N. H., was his half-brother.

Mr. Payson appears to have been a man of respectable talents, of a peaceful disposition, and of devoted piety. He was fortunate in having secured, for a long period, the love and respect of his people. Fond of the peaceful walks of his profession, he knew but little of the affairs of the world, and was ill calculated to sustain its buffets. The latter years of his ministry were embittered by the inroads made among his people by the Methodists, Baptists and Universalists. These circumstances, together with a constitutional infirmity of mind, caused a great depression of spirits, which finally settled in confirmed insanity. Lucid intervals occasionally intervened. Yet he continued to preach for several years. He would go through with the public services on the Sabbath with perfect propriety, when frequently there did not occur another lucid interval during the week. He discontinued preaching for a period

in the spring and summer of 1792, but resumed his pastoral duties in the autumn. His infirmity increasing upon him in the summer of 1793, both the church and town united in calling a council to take into consideration their ecclesiastical affairs. This council was unable to effect a reconciliation, the town refusing to accede to Mr. Payson's propositions.

In April, 1794, all parties agreed to re-assemble the former council and to abide by its decision. The council decided that the town should pay Mr. Payson the sum of $530, and that his pastoral relations should cease. This proposition was accepted by the town on the 2d day of May, 1794; and Mr. Payson's connections with the town were then dissolved.

He continued to reside here without any alleviation of his unfortunate infirmity, till May, 1804, when, being on a visit at the house of his brother-in-law, in Leominster, he put a period to his existence by first taking poison, and cutting his throat immediately after. In a lucid interval before his death he expressed the most poignant grief for the act which he had committed. He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the thirty-sixth of his ministry.

For about one year after this period, Rev. John Kimball was employed to preach, and was invited to become the minister of the place, but the invitation was declined. In December, 1795, an invitation given to Rev. John Miles to "settle" was declined by him.

—[*Torrey, pp. 120–122.*

In September of that same year in which the church was dedicated Rev. Samuel Worcester was called as pastor of the society. To this period exclusively a long and exhaustive paper should be given. Dissensions arose on every side;—it is clear that Mr. Worcester was very poorly fitted for holding things together. In 1801 we find the town divided into several societies, each claiming their proportional use of the meeting-house. Those in the east part of the town secured it for twenty-four Sabbaths, Mr. Worcester's society for seventeen, those in the west part eight, the Methodists and Baptists for three each. In 1802 Mr. Worcester's dismissal was accomplished, leaving two very distinct societies. Over the society which was the logical successor to Mr. Worcester's faction, the Rev. Titus T. Barton, from Tewksbury, was settled in the spring of

1804; over the First Parish, which retained the meeting-house, Rev. William Bascom was settled, also in 1804. These two societies were united in 1813. Our interlude of church discipline falls between these limits, 1804 and 1813, and deals with the church under Mr. Barton's care.

At the church meeting, October 2d of the same year, came the first proposition to discipline the members:

"The Chh confered on the importance of all its members paying strict attention to the unchristian conduct of members and without delay to take the first step pointed out in the gospel. No one may mention the fault or faults to any person but the offender until the first and second steps are taken as the head of the Chh has pointed out. The subject was conversed on for considerable time and the Chh both brothers and sisters appeared to be exceedingly well pleased with the thought of being tied up to the stricest observance of the gospel rule. No vote of the Chh passed at the meeting."

May 17, 1805. "There was a written acknowledgement for breach of the seventh commandment exhibited to the Chh from Aaron Houghton and Martha his wife. The question being put, are the chh satisfyed with the evidence exhibited by these backsliding members so that they are willing to receive them to christian communion and fellowship? Passed in the affirmative."

To the Church of Christ under Revd Mr. Barton's care.

Aug. 8, 1805. Brethren of the Church, I request a discharge from this church and a recommendation to the Congregational Church of Fitchburg. Many reasons might be offered: I wish my family to belong to one society, and I have an interest in the old meeting house and not in the new. From your friend JACOB BURNAP.

The church voted unanimously not to comply with the request of Jacob Burnap. A committee, of which the pastor was chairman, was asked to prepare a reply to Mr. Burnap's letter. It is to be noted that Jacob Burnap had not contributed anything to the new church fund. On that same day a complaint was read against John Smith, whose neglect of public worship and ordinances had considerably "dissatisfyed" Aaron Houghton. It appeared from this letter that Houghton was smitten with his zeal

as a church inquisitor within a month after the church had forgiven him for one of the very few serious moral lapses ever recorded in the church book. Houghton used the regulation formula, evidently furnished by the pastor, much as the Commonwealth to-day furnishes court blanks for all kind of complaints. It is also evident that nearly all the complaints were edited by the pastor, because, in the original documents which I have consulted, there are corrections and interlineations in Mr. Barton's handwriting. This editing by the minister tended to take out all the freshness and individuality and to reduce them all to a common level of uniformity. It was also his habit to edit the written confessions and relations, as they were called, in the same way. Aaron Houghton closes his letter thus, after saying that he had first taken several members with him:

"But geting no satisfacttion, and thinking I have gone according to my duty, I now proceed to tell it to the Chh that I may entertain a conscience void of offence toward God and man. Hoping that you may be directed by infinite wisdom to act on so interesting a subject.

AARON HOUGHTON."

September 20, 1805. By a unanimous vote the church accepted the letter reported by the committee to be sent in reply to the request of Jacob Burnap. The burden of this elaborate document, covering three closely written folio pages, is as follows:

1. The Parish and society to which you ask dismissal, after Mr. Worcester's retirement captured the council unfairly and ignored this church; that was equivalent to excommunicating us all at one stroke. Now we maintain that ours is the church.

2. If you join them you also excommunicate us, 130 or 140 members.

3. Now ask yourself, your own conscience, if this is not a Church of Christ in spite of those foul acts of excommunication. It is time for you to feel the shame and to humble yourself.

"Praying that you may have repentance and forgiveness we subscribe yours aggrieved brethren.

TITUS T. BARTON } *Pastor of the Church.*"

On the same day Thomas Thurston, Jr., presented a complaint against John Smith for his "immorality and criminality." Thurston had taken the two steps laid down in the Gospel and then brought the matter to the church, "Hoping that we shall act as in the presence of God and as probationers for Eternity." It was voted that "brother John Smith be sighted to appear before the C^hh^ at the next meeting and answer these complaints brought against him."

"Oct. 31. Dea. Eben. Thurston reported that he had waited on brother John Smith as directed by the C^hh^ at the last meeting, informed him of the complaints brought against him, and requested him to appear in C^hh^ meeting to answer. He signified he should not attend. He did not attend although he was at work within sight of the meeting all the time of lecture & church meeting."

The church voted to make a second request. Then Dea. Kendall Boutelle brought a charge against Daniel Farwell for attending the other church. Then the church voted to ask Dea. Boutelle, Timothy Dammon and Jonathan Lowe to try John Smith again while the church waited to hear the answer. On returning, Dea. Boutelle reported that

"Whereas he said before that he would rather join with that C^hh^ than with ours, He now said that he had rather join with the judged than them that judge. Yours as before KENDAL BOUTELLE."

The church voted to summon Daniel Farwell.

1806—January 6. Committee reported that Smith and Farwell would not attend. They ignored in the record the manly statement of John Smith, although that document itself was preserved. Daniel Farwell came in person to see that his statement was read. In that precaution he showed that he was a wise man. It read as follows:

Feeling a disposition to treat all my fellow Christians with civility, I do now in answer to the summons to appear before your body, which was given me by your commttee, say that the Cong. Ch. in this place, of wh the Rev. Wm Bascom is pastor, is upon a regular & scriptural establishment. That I am fully persuaded of the wisdom of the vote of a mutual Council called for the decision of the religious controversy in this place, viz. That the new forms, in the manner in which they were introduced cannot in our view, be considered as binding upon those who never consented to them; And that not having subscribed to those forms, I do not consider myself connected with your church, or accountable in the sense in which you appear to contemplate the subject, but I am a member of the Ch. connected with the first Parish.

DANIEL FARWELL.

Adjourned.

Jan 16. Passed Unanimously this Resolution: That it shall in future be the usage of this Chh after a member is in the judgement of this Chh proved guilty of crimes worthy the censure of excommunication, The Chh by their united voice shall administer a first & second admonition to the offender before the censure of Excommunication be passed upon him, that the offender may have a fair opportunity to hear the Ch.

Thus the minister had established a definite and fixed mode of inquisitorial procedure in the course of a year after the first cases were hailed with interest and even enthusiasm. One can only explain the satisfaction which the church members took in these grim proceedings on the ground that they had the feeling that the offences were not so reprehensible after all, and considering that fact, the trials afforded a variation in the constant and monotonous round of every-day affairs. There was little to give variety and color to life then, aside from these ecclesiastical excitements.

Following hard upon the vote on the procedure noted above, came the first warning against John Smith. In this document is the first reference to any specific misdeed, "the intemperate use of ardent spirits." One cannot help being impressed with the levity of expression in this conclusion—"We, therefore, as a church of the L. J. C., now

with our united voice"—Then follows the warning of the impending doom which would naturally await such a sinner as he. It was signed by the pastor, who was obviously the author.

The church also accepted the pastor's first letter of warning to Daniel Farwell, whose sin was pointed out as his "joining a Universalian society." Then follow many closely written folio pages in view of persuading Farwell of the legality of Mr. Barton's church and the illegality of the other. They close with the warning of impending doom.

April 1st. Voted to send a second and last warning to John Smith and Daniel Farwell. The same wording appears in both. On that day Ephraim Kimball made a charge against Aaron Wheeler for siding with the other church.

May 15. "Voted, that when the Pastor of this Chh shall at any time pass the censure of excommunication upon any member the complaint and process of discipline shall be published at the same time and place when and where the censure is administered."

This vote, it is to be noted, closed up the entire matter of procedure in cases of discipline and was evidently intended to anticipate the necessity under which they expected to be laid immediately, because the next vote recorded is this:

"Voted that John Smith heretofore a brother of this Chh be unto us as a heathen man and a publican."

"Voted that Daniel Farwell, heretofore a brother of this Chh be unto us as a heathen man and a publican."

On May 18 "Lord's Day the Sensure of excommunication was passed on Daniel Farwell and John Smith after publishing the disciplinary process that had been taken with them, before the Chh and congregation."

Thus in the zeal of the minister the severest censure was visited upon two neighbors who had formerly been very pleasantly associated with all the church members.

Not a breath of criticism was ever raised against Daniel Farwell; in the original complaint against John Smith the general terms criminality and sinfulness in that day were also used to mean neglect of certain church services. It is true that in the warning sent to John Smith mention is made of his occasional excess in use of liquor. Whether that was verified or not we have no evidence. On the other hand, his reply to charges, which was the only reply in writing, suppressed in the records kept by the moderator, Rev. T. T. Barton, has also come into my hands, and in the light of the identity of the person who had charge of the records affords interesting reading, no less than a commentary on the disposition of the man who suppressed it. It is as follows:

"FITCHBURG Jany the 6th, 1806.

To the Brothern of the church of whom Titus T. Barton is pastor of. I am very much Displesed with the proceedings of the church & their conduct to wards me, not only this, But I must tell that I never Liket the pastors preaching Because In my oppinion he dont preach according to rules of the gospil in some particuler points, and I must tell that I never mean to sign their covent nor articles of Faith, But I mean to stand upon my own Ground on which the First Church was built upon Before the Rev. Mr. Worcester was ordaind and you must understand Brothern that I never was one that joined in sitling the Rev. Titus T. Barton in the gospil ministry nor never come into communion with the church since he has Been settled—But I never mean to count the members of the church enimies, But admonish them as Brotheren —— and the covenent that I was Taken into the church upon I cannot Leave and In my consience I hold to[o] sacred to be cast away and that covent I mean to abide by as Long as I Live. JOHN SMITH."

It must have been a grim sort of a day for the younger portion of the population to have heard those solemn processes of excommunication declared from the pulpit. It seems a pity that so grave a punishment and so public a disgrace should not have been reserved for some offence more serious than that of attending some other church of Christ than the one exercising the discipline.

On the very day that the church voted to regard Messrs. Farwell and Smith as heathen men, it was "voted that in the opinion of this C^hh^ Brother Aaron Wheeler is guilty of the crimes stated in the complaint for which the C^hh^ will be justifyed in passing upon him the sensure of excommunication should he not manifest repentance." Whereupon the church took measures to have him admonished in strict accordance with the procedure on that very day established. On July 1st and on August 10th the first and second letters were sent Mr. Wheeler. They were in all respects like those sent to Farwell and Smith, and on September 18th, it was voted to pass sentence of excommunication on Wheeler, whose only offence also was attendance at the other church. On the same day proceedings were opened against Jacob Jaquith upon the same grounds. It was not, however, until Christmas day that they voted to send the same letters of admonition to him that they had sent to the others.

For a few months the heresy hunt was quiet, and then suddenly it was discovered that William Kendall had been a subject of discipline six or seven years past. The letter sent him, March 1, 1807, opened as follows:

> "Dear brother, we address you at this time by letter to call up your attention to scenes long since passed. You will recollect that in April A D 1800, there was a complaint to this C^hh^ against you for having signed a compact with others to support Universalists."

Owing to the unsettled state of affairs at that time, only what would pass for a first admonition was sent him; now, unless he manifested repentance the church was prepared to pick up the threads of discipline dropped carelessly in 1801 and see that the whole matter was properly carried to a finish. On April 26th Kendall and Jaquith were publicly excommunicated as the others had been, and on the same day it was "Resolved that a doxology be added to the last singing in the afternoon of the Lord's day

in the future." Again the discipline slumbered for over a year, only roused to send a letter of warning to Mrs. Mary Lovell, who had asked for a letter to a church in Charlestown, whither she had removed. This letter was refused on complaint of Rev. Titus T. Barton and Deacon Ephraim Kimball; the latter was Mrs. Lovell's brother. Their complaint was that in private conversation she had given assent to the doctrine that all men would finally be saved. Accordingly, Mr. Barton was instructed to send her a letter of warning. He did so, and evidently Mrs. Lovell did not think it worth while to press her request for a letter, because the matter is not mentioned again.

During 1808 several church meetings were held to see what could be done to repress the unseemly conduct of baptized children in the meeting-house. No written report was ever made, although it was officially asked of a committee.

Between October 27th, 1808, and April 14th, 1809, the process of excommunication was being served upon Zachariah Sheldon and wife and Widow Hannah Burnap for attendance at the other church. These trials differed in no respect from the others.

May 25th, 1809. Susan Brown had "imbraced baptistical sentiments," and requested that pastor and church consent for her to be baptized by immersion. Not a hand was raised to comply with this request. Voted pastor to write her a letter. Voted also, pastor to write second letters of admonition to the Sheldons and Mrs. Burnap. The letter to Susan Brown opens thus:

"Dear sister, Our Revd. Pastor laid before us as you requested him to, the letter you addressed to him. We were pleased with the expression in the fore part of your letter, of your sense of your own vileness. If you have such a sense, as you express, of the wickedness of your own heart, it is an evidence that you do not live a stranger to yourself. But dear sister, we are surprised, we are astonished and deeply affected

by what follows. In the remainder of your letter, we learn this, that you are about to deny and to renounce the baptism with which you have been baptized."

This is the forerunner of the seven closely written folio pages which follow, assuring Susan Brown of her mistake. He says in conclusion:

"We have written a lengthy letter, but only a small part of what our zeal and love would dictate."

That you may not receive the impression that these church members were cruel in their discrimination, see how easy it was for them to forgive in case the sinner only came at the matter in the right way. On October 29th the confession of one Mary —— was read, expressing repentance for breaking the seventh commandment. It was one of the simplest, frankest confessions that the church ever accepted. For the most part it is evident that the confessions, or relations as they were commonly called, were either constructed according to an elaborate formula furnished by the minister, or else very profusely edited and emended by him. In this particular instance Mary ——'s confession was accepted and she was received into their holy fellowship and communion. On the following Lord's day baptism was administered to her baby, suggesting that the one incident helped the other, although there is no other evidence than the juxtaposition of the events to intimate their relation each to the other.

Up to this point there is nothing to indicate that there was any internal dissatisfaction with Mr. Barton. On January 9, 1810, however, it was voted to have a clerk to record the acts of the church. Brother Joseph Simonds was chosen. It is a bit significant that Mr. Barton did not hand to him the sheep-bound folio volume in which the records had been kept by his hand up to that time. Mr. Simonds procured a collection of sheets of unruled paper which he stitched together roughly with a dingy blue paper

cover. From that time on the records were kept most faithfully in a beautiful chirography which is a delight after reading the cramped hand of Mr. Barton.

Three months later, March 1st, 1810, for some reason there was created a new interest in the inquisition. The following resolution was passed:

If there are, or should hereafter be, any of the members of this church who have or shall hereafter neglect to attend on the administration of the ordinances of the gospel special or common in company with this Chh it is the indispensable [?] duty of the Chh to administer to such the discipline pointed out in the 18th Chapter of Matthew.

Voted. That no member of the Chh neglect to attend the stated or special meetings of the Chh unless he have an excuse for not attending which he will be willing to offer before the Chh when the Chh are assembled in Chh meeting.

Immediately followed the complaints which had evidently instigated the foregoing precautionary measures in the interest of strengthening the procedure. I have made a list of the complainants and the causes which I will insert here. Several will be taken up more at length.

March 1, 1810, E. Thurston vs. Abigail Durant, attendance at First Parish.

March 1, 1810, Phineas Allen vs. Ruth Jaquith, attendance at First Parish.

March 1, 1810, Phineas Allen vs. Sarah Jaquith, attendance at First Parish.

November 3, 1810, Phineas Brown vs. Hannah Kendall, attendance at First Parish.

November 3, 1810, Phineas Allen vs. Amos Osborn, called the atheist, a man without religion—for neglect of the church.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Jan. 7, 1812, Ephraim Kimball vs. Susan Brown, who was a Baptist.

April 16, 1812, Ebenezer Thurston vs. Hannah Kemp, for alleged use of spirituous liquors and absence from church.

May 20, 1812, Ebenezer Thurston vs. Verin Daniels. Five counts: 1st, unchristian treatment of Dea. Kimball; 2d, neglect of communion;

3d, neglect of family worship; 4th, unchristian treatment of his wife; 5th, same of Mrs. Houghton.

Friday, July 10, 1812, voted to begin procedure of discipline against him.

Of these cases the only one worth commenting on is that against Verin Daniels. Two months later Daniels appeared before the church meeting to which he had been cited. He met the charges with a general denial, but as Deacon Ephraim Kimball was detained at home by sickness the church voted to hold the case over till he could be present. A week later, July 10th, when Deacon Kimball could speak for himself, the church met and finally passed various votes; the first was that the charge of falsehood which Brother Daniels had alleged against Deacon Kimball was not sustained; the other votes recorded the opinion of the church that all the charges against Daniels were true. Finally it was voted that the process of discipline should be opened against Brother Daniels.

This was the first and last man who resisted the charges made against him. This case, however, was never finished, because the church was soon to be plunged into a much more serious affair, namely, the discussion as to the advisability of the continuance of the pastoral relation of Rev. T. T. Barton. A committee was appointed to confer with Mr. Barton with regard to severing the relation. To them he replied that "if the church as a body had anything to alledge against him he wished them to state their complaints in writing, and he would reply in writing; also that if individuals were offended with him he wished them to come to him and he was willing to converse freely with them respecting their grievances." After hearing this reply the church voted to adjourn the meeting till the next Thursday at 8 o'clock a. m. That would have been on October 7. The record of that meeting and of another referred to on Wednesday, October 20, as held

on the "preceeding Lord's Day, October 17," which must have been on a single sheet of the folio, has been torn out or rather cut out with scissors as close to the stitching as was possible.

In the meanwhile, pursuant to Mr. Barton's request, Deacon Kimball prepared a bill of particulars which on October 20th the church voted to accept. This letter of Deacon Kimball's should be given in full.

To the Church of Christ in Fitchburg:

I would inform you that I have been dissatisfied with the Rev. Mr. Barton for a long time, for his unbecoming expressions and have taken with him the steps pointed out in the 18th of Matthew and have got no satisfaction—and now tell it to the Chh.

1. His anxiety to go to the General Court at the time when he was elected to represent the town in that body, under the then Circumstances of those under his charge.

2d. His saying that if there should be more black sheep than white ones in the general Court he would not take a seat.

3d. His saying that if the disposition in his society to prevent him from going to the general Court originated in their political and not in their religious views he would go if it caused him to be dismissed in three months.

4. He said if his going to the general Court that year would cause the majority to fall on the side of the republicans—and if his not going should throw the majority on the opposite side, he should think it would be his duty to go if he should sacrafice this whole church.

5. His reporting that I and others deceived him in our statements respecting another representative in case he should refuse to serve the town.

6. His saying if by his not going to the general Court should be the means of throwing the town out of their representative, he should loose his life.

Hoping the church will have wisdom from God to direct them in what is before them, I subscribe myself your brother in the Chh.

Oct. 20. 1812. EPHM. KIMBALL.

A week later, Mr. Barton read in a public meeting of the church and congregation a long account covering thirty closely written pages explaining away Deacon Kimball's

charges. In this story as he tells it the Deacon is made a grim and cruel bulldozer. In spite of Mr. Barton's indifference, he was nominated to represent the town at the General Court, chiefly because he was the only man whom the Republicans, then in the majority, could elect. For personal reasons some of the members of his church opposed his election, pretending that they feared the cause of religion would suffer in his absence. He represents that Deacon Kimball, with his friends, most unwarrantably coerced him into declining to serve the town, assuring him if he did, it would be at the expense of receiving no salary from the church and of being pressed for the immediate payment of past debts. It is evident that in matters of church discipline Mr. Barton was as great a martinet as could have been found; he must have been high spirited, quick tempered and highly imaginative. On the other hand, Deacon Kimball, if not as high strung, must have been very exasperating. Certainly he was much more moderate, much more real and less artificial than his pastor; his written explanation makes a much more favorable impression than that of the minister. These elaborate replies did not help in the least to mend matters. On December 2d, Thomas Thurston preferred charges against Mr. Barton before the church. They were as follows:

1 His neglegence in studying.

2d His neglegence in visiting the sick.

3d His slandering the Chh as a body and individuals.

4th. His making false statements at sundry times.

5 His wishing there was not a female on earth.

6 His saying there ought not to be any human law to protect the Sabbath.

7 His unjust dealing with his neighbor.

8 His not governing his children on the Sabbath.

9 His imprudent and unbecoming conversation.

At this point the church voted to lay the entire matter with all the documents before some respected clergyman or

clergymen for advice. Accordingly, Rev. Dr. Payson of Rindge was invited down to preside at a meeting at which Mr. Barton should appear to answer to the charges of Thomas Thurston.

When that day came, Mr. Barton filed two complaints in that he "found cause of Christian offence" in Deacon Ephraim Kimball and John Farwell. The charges against Deacon Kimball were:

1. His treatment of Mr. Barton at election time.
2. Making Mr. B. responsible for acts of Mr. Kimball.
3. His unchristian feeling toward me for a long time at our holy communion.
4. His exertions to terminate the pastorate.
5. His injury to temporal interests of Messrs. Barton and Miller.

The charges against John Farwell were:

1. His treatment of Mr. Barton at election time.
2. "His causing Mr. Wetherbee to deed to him land he had reasonable evidence to believe I had before purchased."
3. His inciting Dea. Kimball to charge more for another piece of land and so preventing Mr. B.'s purchase.
4. Sharp practice in another real estate transaction by misrepresentation to the hurt of Mr. Barton's and to improvement of his own interests.

It had become clear that nothing was to be gained in this way, consequently the church sought to call a council which would determine in legal Congregational fashion what would best be done. In the calling of this council Mr. Barton refused to act in concert with them unless they would assure at least a majority of Republicans on the council. Failing in that, the church voted to call an *ex parte* council, which met February 24, 1813. After several days given to a serious examination of the evidence the decision was that the charges on both sides were not proven; yet it seemed best for all concerned that the pastoral relation between Rev. T. T. Barton and his church be dissolved.

Shortly after this crisis a cordial invitation came from the First Parish church, under the care of Rev. William Bascom, to join with that church. The invitation was accepted and the meeting-house closed. Following is the letter of invitation:

FITCHBURG, Sept. 9, 1813.

At a meeting of the Church under the pastoral care of the Rev. William Bascom,—Voted, that there be an attempt made to bring about a reunion of the two Congregational Churches in this town. Voted, that a committee be appointed to communicate this our disposition to the church recently under the pastoral care of the Rev. Titus T. Barton, & to ascertain whether they be desirous of doing anything to effect the above desirable object, upon fair and gospel principles.

We, therefore, do hereby make such communication, & would wish you to return us your answer. Pr Order

WM BASCOM } *Chairman of the Committee.*

To the church recently under the care of the Revd. T. T. Barton.

And with this incident the Fitchburg experiment in ecclesiastical inquisition passed into history, its most notable victim being the very man who introduced it.

FITCHBURG PIONEERS IN KANSAS.

Read at a Meeting of the Society June 15, 1896.

BY HENRY A. GOODRICH.

By an act of congress approved March 6, 1820, a section of this country larger in extent than the original thirteen states was forever sealed to freedom. Slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, was by this act prohibited in all the territories north of 36° 30′ north latitude. This vast extent of country lying midway between the Atlantic and Pacific, in the very heart of the United States, was to be forever free from the curse of unpaid toil. Slavery was then a recognized institution in states where it existed, and was fully protected by law. As legally interpreted, the black man had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. The religion of the slave states taught that slavery was a sacred institution of divine origin.

Alarmed at the rapid growth of the free North, the southern states became more and more aggressive, until at last it was proposed to annul the sacred compact which prohibited the extension of slavery. What was known as "the crowning act of infamy," was consummated by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, May 25, 1854. Charles Sumner, in the United States senate, denounced this act as a "crime against Kansas," and for his manly protest was murderously assaulted in the senate chamber.

Henceforth the dormant sentiment of the North was aroused to the highest pitch of indignation. In the great conflict which followed between freedom and slavery, the settlement of Kansas was the turning point. It was conceded by the highest authority that a nation half free and half slave could no longer remain tranquil.

In 1854 the slave power in this country had reached its highest limit. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise opened up our vast territories to the possible extension of slavery. Kansas was upon the border, and upon its actual settlers depended in a great measure the future of the nation. History records no grander opportunity for a great struggle between right and wrong than was here presented. In the events which led to this struggle, Worcester county bore a conspicuous part, and in actual results the pioneers from Fitchburg must ever be regarded as in the forefront of leaders.

> "They crossed the prairies, as of old
> The pilgrims crossed the sea,
> To make the West, as they the East,
> The homestead of the free."

In the spring of 1854, while the Compromise Act was before congress, public meetings were held in different parts of the state to protest against its repeal, and to consider the wisest means of averting such a calamity in the event of its passage. The first meeting, held in Boston February 23d of the same year, was composed of some of the most influential men in the state without distinction of party. This meeting resolved: "That the propositions now pending in congress for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise have justly filled our community with surprise and alarm, that we protest against such repeal, as a deliberate breach of plighted faith of the nation, as tending to weaken the claims of our common country upon the confidence and affection of its people."

Similar meetings were subsequently held in different parts of the commonwealth, and in fact throughout the northern states, but all to no purpose save to rouse the people to a realizing sense of imminent danger.

On the 3d of May, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was signed by Franklin Pierce, then president of the United States, and henceforth "squatter sovereignty" was to control the future of a vast domain. When this news was flashed across the wires, bells were tolled in towns and cities for what was then considered the death-knell of freedom. But there yet remained some stout hearts who hoped for better things. Col. S. N. Wood, one of the earliest settlers in Kansas, has this to say of the brave men who sought to avert the calamity:

"The pilgrims of the Mayflower sought the wild shores of America, that they might be free to worship God in their own way; free to believe in religious matters whatever seemed right to their own conscience. They sought freedom for themselves, but the pioneers of Kansas heard the call, which in every age has thrilled the souls of men with heroic power.

"At this critical period, when the hosts of slavery and freedom were marshalling for this great and decisive encounter, in their inmost souls they heard the divine voice calling for defenders of liberty; and they obeyed the signal that pointed to Kansas as the great battle ground."

In anticipation of the emergency so aptly described by Mr. Wood, the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society was early in the field. Eli Thayer, afterwards a member of congress from this district, was the acknowledged leader of this great enterprise. He first disclosed his plan at a large meeting in city hall, Worcester, March 11, 1854. Here he declared that the time had come to organize an opposition that would utterly defeat the schemes of selfish men who misrepresented the nation at Washington. The plan proposed was organized emigration, guided and guarded by a responsible business company, where capital should precede the emigrants and

prepare the way for their comfort and protection. A preliminary meeting was held in Worcester early in April, and a convention called at Worcester April 18, 1854, "of persons favorable to the establishment of a colony or colonies, of New England men in the territories of the West." There were present about fifty representatives from twenty towns, including a goodly number from Fitchburg. Mr. Thayer explained the plans and purposes of the proposed Emigrant Aid Society, and a committee was chosen to arrange for a second convention early in May. In the meantime a charter was obtained from the legislature and signed by the governor on the 26th of April. The second convention was held in Worcester May 9. John Milton Earle presided, and Edward Everett Hale, Eli Thayer and others addressed the meeting. In all these preliminary meetings representatives from Fitchburg took a prominent part.

In the *Worcester Spy*, commencing in April, 1854, appeared a series of letters headed "Nebraska and Kansas," dated Fitchburg, Mass., describing the country and situation of affairs. These letters continued several weeks, and were signed "One who has been there."

What was being done at the time, and what the feeling was in this locality, may be inferred from a communication which appeared in the *Fitchburg Sentinel* June 17 of the same year. After referring to the late convention at Worcester, and the objects and purposes of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, the writer goes on to say that the plan by which the company propose to extend their aid, is to make arrangements so that whole companies may go together at very low rates, and be secure from imposition and fraud. Referring to the inducements to emigrants going West to settle in Kansas, aside from the grand object in question, he says: "From all accounts the soil is unequalled in fertility in the wide

world; and from the testimony of one of our own citizens the climate is very agreeable. And now the question comes: Shall Kansas become a free and prosperous state, or shall its virgin soil be polluted by the blighting, blasting curse of American slavery? The South have violated the solemn compact, which forever excludes slavery in these territories. We know no 36° 30′ now, nor ever will again. The question is now left to the settlers. It is of no use to wait for a repeal of the infamous Nebraska bill; before this can be effected, Kansas might be admitted as a slave state. If then we are to have a 'squatters' sovereignty,' let those squatters be New England men—in favor of New England customs and New England institutions." Such were the sentiments of the early pioneers from Fitchburg.

It was in July, 1854, that the first company of eastern emigrants started for Kansas. The pioneer body was one of the best representations of New England character. They were some thirty in number, under the guidance of Charles Branscomb. They located on the present site of Lawrence. Two weeks later a party of sixty to seventy joined them, with whom were Dr. Charles Robinson and S. C. Pomeroy. Dr. Robinson was at this time a practicing physician in Fitchburg, and had an office on Main street, in the Kinsman house, next to the Proctor house, recently demolished. He was a prominent citizen and a member of the school committee, was known as a radical reformer, and an enthusiast in whatever he undertook. In personal appearance he was tall, well proportioned and of commanding presence. He had previously been in California, was one of the early pioneers in that state, and while there was shot through the body when trying to vindicate the rights of the settlers to the land, and with Col. Fremont leading them against a monster monopoly, which was seeking to obtain and control all

of the public domain. After being shot he was placed on board a prison ship and there retained until the people had elected him to represent them in the California legislature.

Later, during the presidential campaign of 1856, Col. Fremont wrote a letter to Robinson, from which the following is an extract: "I had been thinking and speaking of you latterly. The Banks balloting in the house and your movements in Kansas had naturally carried my mind back to our one hundred and forty odd ballots in California. We were defeated then; but the contest was only an incident in the great struggle, and the victory was deferred, not lost. You have carried to another field the same principle, with courage and ability to maintain it; and I make you my sincere congratulations on your success, incomplete so far, but destined in the end to triumph absolutely." A short time before his death, Gen. Fremont said that Charles Robinson, more than any one man, kept California from being a slave state, and without his assistance we should not have secured that desirable result.

Eli Thayer, in his "Kansas Crusade," thus speaks of his first meeting with Dr. Robinson: "It was at one of the Chapman Hall meetings in Boston that I first saw Charles Robinson (afterwards governor of Kansas), and engaged him to act as agent of the Emigrant Aid Company. A wiser and more sagacious man for this work could not have been found in the borders of the nation. By nature and by training he was perfectly well equipped for the arduous work before him. He was willing, if there was need, to die for his principles. In addition to such brave devotion to duty, he had the clearest foresight and coolest, calmest judgment in determining the course of action best adapted to secure the rights of the free state settlers."

At a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence of Boston, one of the greatest benefactors of Kansas, gave an address, from which the following is taken:

"When Eli Thayer obtained the charter of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, and began to preach the Kansas Crusade, the organization was completed here in Boston, and Dr. Robinson of Fitchburg was chosen to be the territorial agent. Charles H. Branscomb took charge of the emigrant parties, and S. C. Pomeroy was financial agent.

"The enthusiasm increased; parties were formed all over the Northern states. The Emigrant Aid Company undertook to give character and direction to the whole. This society was to be loyal to the government under all circumstances; it was to support the party of law and order, and it was to make Kansas a free state by *bona fide* settlement, if at all. Charles Robinson had the requisite qualities to direct the movement. He had had great experience in the troubles in California. He was cool, judicious, and entirely devoid of fear, and in every respect worthy the confidence reposed in him by the settlers and the society. He was obliged to submit to great hardship and injustice, chiefly through the imbecility of the United States government agents. He was imprisoned, his house was burned, and his life often threatened; yet he never bore arms, nor omitted to do whatever he thought to be his duty. He sternly held the people to their loyalty to the government, against the arguments and example of the 'higher law' men, who were always armed, who were not real settlers, and who were bent on bringing about a border war, which they hoped would extend to the older states. The policy of the New England Society, carried out by Robinson and those who acted with him in Kansas, was finally successful and triumphant."

Mrs. Sara T. L. Robinson, wife of Dr. Robinson, was a woman of refinement and culture. She was a daughter of Hon. Myron Lawrence, an eminent lawyer and prominent citizen of Belchertown, Mass. She was married and first came to Fitchburg to reside in 1851. She was among the first of New England women in Kansas to endure the privations and hardships of pioneer life, even to imprisonment with her husband. While in prison-camp she wrote a book, published in 1856, entitled "Kansas, its Interior and Exterior Life." In the preface she says:

"Its pages were penned during a three-months residence of the authoress in the United States camp at Lecompton with her husband, one of the state prisoners. If the bitterness against the 'powers that be' betrays itself, let the continual clanking of sabres and the deafening sound of heavy artillery in the daily drills, the outrages hourly committed upon peaceable and unarmed men, the news of some friend made prisoner, or butchered with a malignity more than human, the devastation of burning homes, be placed in the balance against a severe judgment. 'God give us men. A time like this demands strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands; men whom the lust of office does not kill; men whom the spoils of office cannot buy.'"

In the introduction she describes her early New England home in a prosperous country town, situated upon an elevation commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country in all directions. Then follows a description of a settlement in Kansas:

"The prairie for miles, with its gentle undulating rolls, lies before the eye; trees are scattered here and there like old orchards, and cattle in large numbers are grazing on the hillsides and in the valley, giving to all the look of cultivation and home life. It is, indeed, difficult to realize that for thousands of years this country has been a waste, uncultivated and solitary, and that months only have elapsed since the white settlers have sought here a home."

The first few years were indeed perilous times for the free-state settlers. Mrs. Robinson, in the closing chapter of her book, made an eloquent appeal to the American people, no less than a clear, prophetic vision of what has since transpired, as the following brief extracts will show:

"We have fallen upon evil times in our country's history when it is treason to think, to speak a word against the evil of slavery, or in favor of free labor. But in this reign of misrule the president and his advisers have failed to note the true effect. The fires of liberty have been rekindled in the hearts of our people, and burn in yet brighter flame under midnight skies illuminated by their own burning dwellings.

"That a people are down-trodden is not evidence that they are subdued. The crushed energies are gathering strength; and like a strong man resting from the heats and toils of the day, the people of Kansas

will arise to do battle for liberty; and when the mighty shouts for freedom shall ascend over her hills and prairies, slavery will shrink back abashed. Lawrence, the city where the plunderer feasted at the hospitable table, and Judas-like, went out to betray it, will come forth from its early burial clothed with yet more exceeding beauty. Out of its charred and blood-stained ruins will spring the high walls and strong parapets of freedom. The sad tragedies in Kansas will be avenged when freedom of speech, of the press, and of the person, are made sure by the downfall of those now in power, and when the song of the reaper is heard again on the prairies, and, instead of the clanking of arms, we see the gleam of the plowshare in her peaceful valleys."

Heroic woman! She rightly interpreted "the irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces."

It is forty years since this stirring appeal was written, and Mrs. Robinson is still living in Kansas, actively interested in literary work and historical reminiscences. To her the writer of this paper is greatly indebted for much valuable information.

Among the emigrants to Kansas there were some forty to fifty from Fitchburg. It is perfectly safe to say that the same number of people cannot be found in all its records who have had more to do with shaping the social, political and educational character of Kansas than the pioneers from Fitchburg. Among the early residents, besides Dr. and Mrs. Robinson, were the Lowes, Farnsworths, Hunts, Kimballs, Earls, Farwell, Marshall, Trask, Browning, Snow and others—familiar names in Fitchburg directories.

The first territorial elections were bogus affairs. They were mainly controlled by armed men, known as border ruffians, who rode into the territory, took possession of the ballot boxes, made their returns and then went back to Missouri. March 30, 1855, Gov. Reeder ordered an election for members of the first territorial legislature. This was regarded as an important election. The number of votes cast was more than twice the entire population.

In Lawrence the number of votes returned was 1034, while the number of legal voters was only 369. The legal voters were mostly free-state men, and yet the pro-slavery candidates were declared elected by a majority larger than the whole number recorded on the voting list. These facts are taken from the report of the congressional committee on Kansas affairs made in 1856.

On the list of voters in Lawrence at this time were several pioneers from Fitchburg, among them George W. Hunt, Samuel Kimball, Daniel Lowe, B. G. Livingston, William Marshall, Samuel Merrill and Charles Robinson.

At the next election, December 15, 1855, when the vote was taken on the adoption of a constitution, three more Fitchburg names, in addition to those above mentioned, appear on the list: George F. Earl, Fred Kimball and C. P. Farnsworth. George F. Earl went from Fitchburg to Kansas in August, 1854, and was prominent in the early pioneer struggles. He was one of the election officers, and took an active part in the free-state movement. In a recent letter from A. D. Searl, who went out with Earl, and was his life-long friend, he writes in substance as follows:

"I first met George F. Earl August 29, 1854. He, like myself, was on his way from Massachusetts to Kansas, and being on the same mission we became warm friends on short acquaintance. We were almost constant companions from this time until the close of the rebellion. Were members of the first military company organized in the territory for protection against invasion. This organization was kept up until 1861, when nearly all the members enlisted in the United States service. Thirty of them afterwards received commissions from the government, and served as officers during the great rebellion. No officer in the command was more respected or more faithful to his duty than Capt. George F. Earl. No braver or more trusty man figured in the late war, or through the Kansas conflict. He knew no such thing as fear, and was always ready to perform his duty, however difficult or dangerous. He was a great favorite of Gov. Robinson, and when the governor required a trusty and reliable man for an emergency, he selected Capt.

Earl. Under direction of Col. Samuel Walker, he drove the team that conveyed Gov. Geary out of the territory between two days, to save his life from the border ruffians. He was at one time sheriff of Douglass county, and performed the duties of that office with great credit. He was afterwards in the United States signal service, and lost his life while in the service."

Mr. Searl was personally acquainted with most of the early pioneers from Fitchburg, and says all of them performed well their part in making Kansas a free state.

Frederick Kimball was a victim of border ruffianism; he with Joseph Lowe and Josiah C. Trask lost their lives at the time of the infamous Quantrell raid, August 21, 1863, a full account of which is given in Willis's "War of the Rebellion." Kimball was one of the three brothers, formerly employed by the Putnam Machine Company, who went from Fitchburg with their families, and were all most worthy and respectable people—just the material for pioneers in a great cause.

Josiah C. Trask, a pupil in the Fitchburg high school in 1853, was one of the early pioneers. As editor of a paper, he was a bright and breezy writer, and an active worker in the free-state movement. Rhoda Jeanette, wife of J. C. Trask, died at Topeka June 5, 1890. George W. Hunt and family were also among the earliest settlers. Mr. Hunt went to Kansas in the summer of 1854, returning to Fitchburg late in the autumn of the same year, and in the spring of 1855 conducted a party under the auspices of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. He, with another contractor, built the large Free State Hotel, which aferwards was destroyed by ruthless invaders. In 1855 he was appointed commissary general of the first division of Kansas volunteers. In the spring of 1856 he again returned to Massachusetts, and in April conducted another party to Kansas, including some of his own family.

When Lawrence was sacked and pillaged, May 21, 1856, and Dr. Robinson's house was burned, Mr. Hunt very kindly offered Dr. and Mrs. Robinson a part of his house for a temporary home. He died at Lawrence, March 25, 1870. Mrs. Hunt lived to be eighty-three years of age and died April 11 of the present year. She leaves a numerous family of children and grandchildren, now residing in Lawrence and vicinity. Emily J., eldest daughter of George W. Hunt, went with Dr. Robinson and wife in the spring of 1855 and married Hon. Joel Grover. Mr. Grover was intimately associated with "Old John Brown" of Harper's Ferry fame in the early struggles in Kansas.

Rufus G. Farnsworth went to Kansas in 1857, but came back to Fitchburg during the war and enlisted in the Fifty-seventh regiment. Charles W. Hunt went out in 1856 and took an active part as a young pioneer. He and his brother, George A., were often called to assist in the defence of their homes and their own lives. One sister, Hattie E., was born in Fitchburg January 9, 1847, married a Massachusetts man, and now resides in Kansas City. Another sister, Caroline M., born in Fitchburg in 1851, was a student of the Kansas state university, died October 6, 1871. Augusta Hunt married Joseph A. Cramer, a prominent man in state affairs, who died in 1871. She afterwards married George B. Hall, and is still living in Kansas. The Hunt family were the most numerous of any of the pioneer families from Fitchburg. Like the Kimballs, Earls and others, they were distinguished for bravery and good citizenship.

Dea. John T. Farwell, for many years town clerk of Fitchburg, was conducting agent of a party sent out by the New England Emigrant Aid Company, March 20, 1855. There were one hundred and forty-four in this party, among the number Willard H. Lowe, who returned to Fitchburg and died here January 10, 1886.

Charles N. Wilson, brother of the late Joseph S. Wilson, went from here in 1856, preempted a claim in Leavenworth, but afterwards returned to Fitchburg, and died here in 1886, the same year as Mr. Lowe.

Besides those already mentioned, there were among the early pioneers from Fitchburg, Albert H. Andrews, Henry Bacon, Mrs. Earl, Hattie Earl, John W. Grew and wife, Mrs. Abbie Gay, Miss E. M. Gay, Frank Kimball, Mr. Ingersoll and wife, William Ingersoll, Mrs. J. G. Sands, Henry Sawin, Lucien W. Wallace and Ira S. Younglove. Mrs. Grew's maiden name was Mary Earl.

Lucien W. Wallace was a son of Waldo Wallace, who formerly kept a large hardware and grocery store, corner of Main and Laurel streets. He went from here to Lawrence, Kansas, in September, 1858, from there to Pike's Peak in May, 1859, returned to Lawrence in October of the same year, and to Fitchburg in August, 1860, died in Portland, Ore., August 2, 1892.

In June, 1856, Albert H. Andrews of this city organized a company of sixty men in Chicago to go to Kansas. While on the way up the Missouri river they were intercepted by Missourians, who would not allow them to disembark or peaceably enter the territory. Thinking discretion the better part of valor, they returned to Illinois and finally went overland by way of Keokuk, Iowa.

Through the influence of Gen. J. H. Lane, one of the first United States senators from Kansas, Maj. Andrews was afterwards commissioned in the Nineteenth U. S. Infantry. He served ten years in the regular army, and is now an inspector in the Boston custom house, which office he has held the past eighteen years.

Henry Bacon, brother of the veteran railroad engineer, Joseph E. Bacon, went out about the same time. He never returned, but, like many other young men full of heroism and courage, died for Kansas.

At one time there were three deacons from Fitchburg among the pioneers—Dea. Farwell, Dea. Lowe and Dea. Marshall. Dea. Farwell, at home, was a constant attendant at church, and was very fond of music. In a letter to his son, John A. Farwell, dated May 12, 1855, after giving some account of his pioneer life, he writes as follows:

"Last Sabbath we had public worship in a hall of the Emigrant Aid Company, and it was quite like a meeting at the East, compared with former accommodations. There were no windows in the building, and a dry goods box for a pulpit, and black walnut rough plank for seats. We had a choir of about fifteen, with the addition of a melodeon, and a very passable performance on the same, which was quite an addition to the exercises. There is some musical talent showing itself already, but it needs considerable cultivation. There appears to be a lack of female voices, but presume there will be addition as the city increases.

"I presume that in a few years we shall have quite intelligent and interesting congregations, that will not be inferior to many in New England. I have become acquainted with quite a number of people who came from Worcester and other towns of good old Worcester county, and find them to be enterprising and energetic persons, and presume most of them will make first-rate free-state men, and will do everything possible to keep out the abominable system of slavery from the territory."

Dea. Lowe and Dea. Marshall, as we have seen, took part in the early elections as legal voters, but neither of the deacons remained permanently in the state. Under date of March 22, 1855, Mr. Marshall wrote a long letter to his son, then fifteen years of age, giving an interesting account of his journey to Kansas, and his early experience there. Among other incidents he relates that he attended the first wedding that ever occurred in Lawrence. Through the kindness of his son, Prof. W. I. Marshall, now of Chicago, we have a copy of this letter.

Mrs. L. M. Buck, now doing business at 304½ Main street in this city, spent two years in Kansas, and is

quite familiar with the social and political features of the state, as they appeared twenty years ago.

Frank H. Snow, formerly principal of the Fitchburg high school, has been a resident of Kansas about thirty years. He first entered the state university of Lawrence as a professor of natural science, and is now chancellor of that great institution.

Anna Hayward, now Mrs. George H. Chapman, went out with Prof. Snow in September, 1866, and remained there about two years in the family of Gov. Robinson. She could hardly be called one of the pioneers, but during her brief residence in Kansas she heard much of its tragic history, and saw something of its wonderful development.

Leverett W. Spring, first pastor of the Rollstone church in this city, went to Kansas in 1876, and was five years pastor of the Plymouth church, Lawrence, one of the first, if not the oldest church in the state. He was afterwards five years professor of English literature in Kansas state university, and is now in the chair of English literature in Williams college, Williamstown, Mass.

Prof. Spring has written a very interesting book, entitled "Kansas," published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, a copy of which may be found in our public library.

In 1856 William Phillips, special correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, published a book entitled the "Conquest of Kansas." This book is recognized as a fair and impartial history of the first two years' struggle between the free-state pioneers and the border ruffians. Phillips speaks in high praise of the courage and sagacity of Robinson and the free-state leaders. Of Mrs. Robinson he says: "While she is a quiet and unassuming lady, she is as resolute as she is high-minded and intelligent."

Andrew H. Reeder was appointed first territorial governor, but as a whole his administration of affairs did

not satisfy the slave power at Washington, and he was succeeded by Gov. Wilson Shannon. During Shannon's administration Col. E. V. Sumner was in command at Fort Leavenworth. It will be remembered that it was Col. Sumner for whom G. A. R. Post 19 of Fitchburg was named. Col. Sumner, although a free-state man, was too much of a soldier to take sides other than to obey orders. His correspondence with Dr. Robinson evinced great confidence in the doctor's influence, and this confidence was reciprocated. Sumner was afterwards a major-general in the Union army.

The first territorial legislature, elected as it was by armed emissaries from Missouri, adopted the Missouri code of laws entire. They enacted a slave code that went beyond the model. To aid a fugitive slave was instant death, while to express an opinion adverse to slavery was a felony with a penalty of five years' imprisonment! The whole thing was an outrage without a parallel. Worst of all, these outrages were sanctioned by the territorial officers and recognized by the administration at Washington. What else could be expected, with Jefferson Davis secretary of war?

Dr. Robinson was first elected provisional governor under the Topeka constitution, January 15, 1856, afterwards arrested by territorial authority and imprisoned at Lecompton. His friends were anxious to rescue him, but he told them under no circumstances to permit themselves to fire upon the army or the flag of our common country. Robinson was finally released from imprisonment on a $5000 bond, and continued to act as provisional governor.

The free-state legislature met at Topeka on July 4, 1857, but was dispersed by United States troops. It came together again in 1858, when the governor advised the continuation of the organization, but did not approve

resistance to the federal authority. An adjournment was taken, and that was the end of the Topeka legislature.

Through all these discouragements the free-state men, following the advice of Robinson, did not lose heart. They ignored the bogus laws of the pro-slavery legislature and maintained a commonwealth within a commonwealth. They did not resist the laws, but protested against their enforcement. Their motto was, "Let us suffer wrong if we must, but let us do no wrong."

When the time came to repeal the slave code, there was no slavery in Kansas. Their course was a masterpiece of diplomatic generalship. Convention had followed convention, election after election was held, and constitution after constitution was framed.

There was the Pawnee legislature, the Topeka legislature, the Lecompton territorial government, and the Leavenworth state government, each by turns in full operation as far as they were allowed.

Speaking of the frequent elections at this time, a western orator once said: "My fellow-citizens, kind and benignant Nature always responds to the habits of men, and I now predict that the next generation in Kansas will be *born* with ballot boxes, so that they can vote whenever they take a notion."

Prof. Spring, in his volume entitled "Kansas," says the career of the free-state party under the lead of Gov. Robinson, who projected and inspired the whole tactical plan of its operations, has no parallel in American history.

The waves of political excitement began to roll high throughout the northern states during the four years from 1856 to 1860. In the presidential campaign of 1860 the slavery question was uppermost in every political discussion.

Several ineffectual attempts were made before the state was admitted into the Union. The final act saw

consummated January 29, 1861. While Kansas was trying to get into the Union, South Carolina and the rebellious states were trying to get out. Referring to these events, the *New York Tribune* of January 29, 1861, says: "The house, yesterday, passed the senate bill for the admission of Kansas, which thus becomes the thirty-fourth state of the Union and the nineteenth free state. The present generation is too near these events to see them in their true proportions; but in the future, in impartial history, the attempt to force slavery upon Kansas, and the violations of law and order, and of personal and political rights that were perpetrated in the attempt, will rank among the most outrageous and flagrant acts of tyranny in the annals of mankind."

From the 7th of October, 1854, when Andrew H. Reeder was first appointed governor, to the admission of Kansas into the Union, there were ten different governors or acting governors in the territory. Their brief careers form an important part of the tragic history of the state while under territorial government.

Gov. Geary gives a graphic picture of the situation as he found it. "I reached Kansas," he says, "and entered upon the discharge of my official duties in the most gloomy hour of her history. Desolation and ruin reigned on every hand; homes and firesides were deserted; the smoke of burning dwellings darkened the atmosphere; women and children, driven from their habitations, wandered over the prairies and among the woodlands, or sought refuge and protection among the Indian tribes. Such, without exaggeration, was the condition of the territory at the period of my arrival."

When the time came to squarely elect a governor by the people there was no need of a political canvass. There was virtually but one man for the place, and that one was Charles Robinson, the man who had done more

than any other to make Kansas a free state, the man in whose courage and wisdom the people had trusted through all these turbulent years. The election occurred on the 6th of December, 1859, but owing to the delay in admitting Kansas as a state, the oath of office was not administered till February 9, 1861.

Thus it came about that the pioneers from Fitchburg furnished the first governor of the new state. While Fitchburg has furnished several members of congress, this is the first instance where one of her citizens ever rose to the position of governor of a state.

Gov. Robinson, as the war governor, proved an able executive. His appointments, both civil and military, were seldom subject to adverse criticism. In concluding his first message, he said: "While it is the duty of each loyal state to see that equal and exact justice is done to the citizens of every other state, it is equally its duty to sustain the chief executive of the nation in defending the government from foes, whether from within or without, and Kansas, though last and least of the states in the Union, will ever be ready to answer the call of her country."

He was probably the first executive to foreshadow the policy which the federal authorities ultimately adopted in reference to slavery. During his administration, Kansas is said to have furnished more men, according to her population, for the suppression of the rebellion than any other state in the Union. At the end of two years he retired from the office of governor, but his political career was not yet ended. He was afterwards several times a candidate for public office, was elected representative to the state legislature in 1872, and to the state senate in 1876 and 1877. Whatever may be said of his personal or political peculiarities, it was always conceded that he was a man of marked ability, of unblemished character and spotless life.

The pioneers from Fitchburg were not only leaders in the cause of freedom in Kansas, but were also leaders in the cause of popular education. Very early in the settlement there was a movement towards a college in Lawrence—first by the Presbyterians, then by the Episcopalians, and later by the Congregationalists. These efforts were all unsuccessful, and finally the Wyandotte constitution, adopted in July, 1859, provided that no religious sect or sects should ever control any part of the common school or university funds of the state. By the act of admission into the Union the Wyandotte constitution became the constitution of Kansas.

Gov. Robinson's interest in the establishment of a school for higher education was very early manifested. As agent of the Emigrant Aid Society he undertook the erection of a school building on the site of the present law building of the state university. The work was discontinued on account of a difficulty concerning the title. Soon after, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, for whom the infant city was named, set apart a fund of $10,000 for the establishment of a college in Lawrence. Robinson being a particular friend of Mr. Lawrence, was made one of the custodians of this fund. Later on there was a congressional endowment of 46,000 acres of land for the benefit of a state university. The location was to be settled by the legislature.

Lawrence had long been regarded the literary metropolis of the state, at least by her own citizens, and by their efforts and contributions, aided by the Amos Lawrence fund, the university was finally located there. Gov. and Mrs. Robinson were generous benefactors of the university from the start. Their interest in the institution was not confined to gifts of money or land. They gave it time and thought, as well as personal service. The governor was for many years a member of the board of

regents. When the first faculty was chosen he proposed the name and secured the election of a young man from Fitchburg as professor of natural science. Prof. Frank H. Snow entered upon his work in this department, and succeeded so well that he was afterwards promoted to the chancellorship, the highest place in the university. As before stated, Rev. L. W. Spring, formerly of Fitchburg, was five years Professor of English Literature in this institution.

From the date of its organization in 1864 to the present time the university has continued to grow and prosper. It is claimed that it made as much progress in twenty-five years as did Harvard college in the first two hundred years of its existence. The faculty now consists of fifty-three members, with about nine hundred students. The equipment consists of eight buildings, with an apparatus of instruction valued at $150,000. The university is a part of the public school system of Kansas, and is at present maintained by an annual appropriation of $100,000 for current expenses.

Under date of April 21, 1896, Prof. Snow writes: "Gov. Charles Robinson was always closely identified with this university, and may be considered, more than any other man, its founder. He gave a tract of land, consisting of fifty acres, which constitutes our campus. He continually aided the institution, not only when a member of its board of regents, but at all other times, in securing favorable legislation, and in his will he made the university the heir to all his property. It is estimated that at least $150,000 will be realized from this bequest."

Verily, the pioneers from Fitchburg have played an important part in the establishment and maintenance of this great institution of learning.

Gov. Robinson lived many years after the real heat and burden of the day were over. It is said of him that

he was always interesting and interested. The last years of his life were passed on his farm near Lawrence, where, with his entertaining and accomplished wife, he lived after the manner of a prosperous New England farmer till his death, which occurred August 17, 1894.

The *Lawrence Gazette* of August 23, 1894, had this to say of him: "No figure stands out so prominently on the pages of Kansas history as that of Charles Robinson, who through the struggle of the new territory, was true to the cause of freedom, conservative in council, radical in action, undaunted in his championship of right and his advocacy of a free state, fearless of peril to self, and yet through all loyal to the national flag."

His funeral was the largest ever seen in the city of his adoption. The attendance included nearly all the state officials and ex-governors. Rev. Dr. Howland, pastor of the Unitarian church in Lawrence, on whose roll of membership is the name of Charles Robinson, conducted the services and paid a touching tribute to his memory, of which the following is an extract: "One by one the pioneers of our beautiful commonwealth pass away. One by one the first actors in the Kansas conflict finish their work. We give back to the earth to-day our most eminent citizen. Forty years ago he began his work in Kansas. It is ended now, except as it lives in institutions and continues in the spirit and affection of the people."

In his later years Robinson became very much interested in historical matters. He was president of the State Historical Society previous to his resignation in the winter of 1881. In 1892, two years before his death, he published a work of nearly five hundred pages, entitled "The Kansas Conflict," in which the introductory writer says: "Any history of Kansas without Gov. Robinson as the prominent figure would be like the play of 'Hamlet' with *Hamlet* left out." He has an array of facts and

information that no other man has, without which any history of Kansas would be incomplete. In this work the closing chapter reads as follows: "Whatever may be the present or future of Kansas, she has done a work for the cause of freedom that is her crowning glory. She had an opportunity denied every other territory and state, and well did she improve it. The results of the territorial conflict are the inheritance of the state and Union, and the handful of pioneers who turned back the dark ways of tyranny from Kansas, and sent back slavery reeling in despair, 'to die amid its worshipers,' can well afford to rest from their labors, trusting to the present generation to see that no harm shall come to the heritage purchased by their labor and sufferings."

It is now thirty-five years since this gigantic struggle for freedom ended, and Kansas was admitted as a state. The political storm which was raging there from 1854 to 1860 extended throughout the whole country, and was only a prelude to the great war of the rebellion. The free-state pioneers, as we have seen, suffered hardships, imprisonment, and in many instances offered up their lives in the sacrifice. The pioneers from Fitchburg during this period were active, aggressive, patient and forbearing.

Gov. Robinson and his associates, aided by the patriotic impulses of Gov. Reeder, Gov. Geary, and some of the other territorial officers, contributed largely to the final solution of the unhappy controversy. After the state was admitted into the Union, and the South had taken up arms against the federal government, she furnished her full quota of men, and stood loyally by the flag.

During the eleven years, from the arrival of the first party of New England emigrants to the surrender of the last rebel in arms against the Union, there was in Kansas no absolute security against invasion and plunder. One hundred and eighty-three citizens of Lawrence were slain

in the Quantrell raid of 1863, including, as before mentioned, three pioneers from Fitchburg.

The close of the war found the state with a population but little in excess of what it contained when admitted to the Union. In 1861 it had 107,000 inhabitants, in 1865 only 140,000. After the war was over its rapid increase in population, wealth, internal improvements and educational facilities, was unparalleled. The census of 1890 shows a population of 1,423,000. When it is remembered that less than forty years previous this was a vast uncultivated territory, inhabited only by savages and untamed animals, this wonderful transformation seems almost like a fairy tale.

"The crime against Kansas," and the attempts to dissolve the Union by secession, might well be termed the confession of guilt and suicide of American slavery. The credit, however, of first securing freedom in the territory is due to the earnest men and women of New England, who, animated by firm and intelligent convictions and fearless devotion to a great cause, went there to make it their future home. Justice, though sometimes tardy in its work, will yet crown with highest honors the memory of these brave pioneers, who gave themselves and all they had to make their land in very deed "the homestead of the free."

In the great record of events, from the repeal of the Missouri Compromise to the close of the war of the Rebellion, the heroic deeds and eminent services of the free-state settlers fill a most conspicuous place. In the grand results which followed, and in view of the prominent part taken by her former residents, Fitchburg has abundant reason to feel proud of her pioneers in Kansas.

"Such earnest natures are the fiery pith,
The compact nucleus 'round which systems grow;
Mass after mass becomes inspired therewith,
And whirls impregnate with the central glow."

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP.

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Bailey, E. Foster,	"
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Baker, Charles F.,	"
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Goodrich, Henry A.,	"
*Goodrich, William Henry,	"
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Greene, Charles H.,	"
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Lowe, Mrs. Annie P.,	"
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Lowe, John,	"
Lowe, Mrs. Mary A. R.,	"
Lowe, Orin M.,	"
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McIntire, Miss Adelaide Z.,	"
Miller, Ernest P.,	"
Morse, Harry G.,	"
†Moulton, Edgar S.,	"
†Norcross, Amasa,	"
Ordway, Alfred R.,	"
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Putnam, Charles H.,	"
†Putnam, Henry O.,	"
†Putnam, Mrs. Sarah A.,	"
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Woodward, Mrs. Martha G.,	"

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*Tinker, Francis, Norwood.
*Towne, George E., Brookline.
Upton, James M., Boston.

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*Deceased.

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